
LKA 63: A Heroic Poem in Celebration of Tiglath-pileser I's Mušru-Qumanu Campaign

Author(s): Victor Hurowitz and Joan Goodnick Westenholz

Source: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Spring, 1990, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Spring, 1990), pp. 1-49

Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of The American Schools of Oriental Research

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1359872>

REFERENCES

~~Linked references are available on JSTOR for this article:~~

~~https://www.jstor.org/stable/1359872?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents~~

You may need to log in to JSTOR to access the linked references.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



The American Schools of Oriental Research and The University of Chicago Press are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*

LKA 63: A HEROIC POEM IN CELEBRATION OF TIGLATH-PILESER I'S MUŞRU-QUMANU CAMPAIGN

Victor Hurowitz and Joan Goodnick Westenholz
The Hebrew University, Jerusalem

The age of Tiglath-pileser I (1115-1077 B.C.E.) was one of marked scribal activity during which traditional literary works were copied and original compositions were produced, both being collected in a royal library. The Middle Assyrian Laws were written down for this library as were the Harem Edicts, containing material dating from the time of Ashur-uballit I.¹ Modifying the already long tradition of royal inscriptions with their narratives of military exploits, the scribes of Tiglath-pileser innovated the annalistic form in which individual campaigns were presented separately and in chronological order.² Furthermore, we find evidence in the annals of periodic rewriting at approximately five- and ten-year intervals.³ The first surviving edition of the annals, composed after the king's fifth *palû*, marks a watershed in the development of historiographic writing. This text is pervaded by a heroic-epic tenor, accentuated by topoi of great victories achieved in a short time span and portrays the king in battle in nearly divine terms. This inscription,

1. This study is the product of a collaboration during the 1984-85 academic year, at which time Dr. Goodnick Westenholz was a visiting research and teaching fellow at the Hebrew University, supported by a grant from the Forchheimer Foundation; all parts of the manuscript are fully the responsibility of both authors. We are grateful to Professors W. G. Lambert, P. Machinist, E. Reiner, and H. Tadmor for reviewing and commenting on the manuscript at various stages. Dr. Markham Geller graciously collated passages in the cuneiform text during his visit to Berlin in February 1986. His collations are indicated in the transliteration by an asterisk.

For a general evaluation of the arts and a survey of literary activity during the reign of Tiglath-pileser I, see D. J. Wiseman, "Assyria and Babylonia c. 1200-1000 B.C.," *CAH* 3 2/2 (Cambridge, 1969) 477-81, and Grayson *ARI* 2 1-3. W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 38 (1976) 85 n. 2, challenges the attribution of the "library" to Tiglath-pileser I. For a recent detailed discussion, see O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur: A Survey of the Material from the German Excavations*, *Studia Semitica Upsaliensia* 6 (Uppsala, 1985), especially part 1, pp. 29-41.

2. See Grayson *ARI* 2 3 §5.

3. See H. Tadmor, "Observations on Assyrian Historiography," in Maria deJ. Ellis (ed.), *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein*, *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 19 (Hamden CT, 1977) 209-13; and his "History and Ideology in the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions," in F. M. Fales (ed.), *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons in Literary, Ideological, and Historical Analysis* (Rome, 1981) p. 18.

unearthed at Assur, has attracted scholarly interest since the dawn of Assyriology when it was selected as the proof-text for the demonstration of the successful decipherment of the cuneiform script and was translated independently by the eminent scholars of the day, Rawlinson, Hincks, Fox-Talbot, and Oppert.⁴

Among the original compositions produced during the reign of Tiglath-pileser I is found one unusual literary work, LKA 63. Since its initial publication in hand copy, it seems to have been totally neglected, apart from laconic statements in reviews of the *editio princeps*,⁵ brief references in surveys and collections of Assyrian royal inscriptions⁶ and citations in the dictionaries. Not only has this text been neglected but its very worth for historical studies has been expressly denied. J. J. Finkelstein explicitly states that this is a hymn "couched in largely stereotyped hymnic terms without specific historical references."⁷ W. G. Lambert implies as much in his consideration of STT 43, which he asserts has nothing in common with LKA 63.⁸ STT 43, according to Lambert, "serves solely to describe a particular campaign" inferring that LKA 63 does not. In his general review of Akkadian literature, K. Hecker speaks of Middle Assyrian narrative poetry centering around the theme of the Assyrian-Kassite conflict, thereby excluding our text.⁹ A. K. Grayson, in several surveys of historical-literary texts, makes no mention of this one.¹⁰

Reexamination of the text, however, has shown that this composition is not only of high literary merit, but also of distinct historical import. From the standpoint of literature, it is one of a small number of poetic texts extolling individual deeds of ancient Mesopotamian monarchs, whereas historically it is a variant account (vis-à-vis the royal inscriptions) of very specific and well defined events. We present here an edition and

4. See S. A. Pallis, *The Antiquity of Iraq: A Handbook of Assyriology* (Copenhagen, 1956) pp. 159ff.

5. W. G. Lambert, *BiOr* 13 (1956) 144a, speaks of "a few original compositions such as the hymn about Tiglath-pileser I, a fine example of Assyrian militarism." E. A. Speiser, *Or* NS 24 (1956) 178, mentions "poems in praise of Tiglathpileser I (no. 62, . . . no. 63)."

6. Borger *Einleitung* 112i, 118m; Grayson *ARI* 2 3.

7. J. J. Finkelstein, "Early Mesopotamia, 2500-1000 B.C.," in Harold Lasswell et al (eds.), *Propaganda and Communication in World History, 1: The Symbolic Instrument in Early Times* (Honolulu, 1979) p. 72.

8. W. G. Lambert, "The Sultantepe Tablets VIII: Shalmaneser In Ararat," *AnSt* 11 (1961) 144.

9. K. Hecker, *Untersuchungen zur akkadischen Epik*, *AOATS* 8 (Neukirchen/Vluyn, 1974) 202f. W. Röllig, "Literatur," *RIA* 7 35-66, also makes no reference to LKA 63.

10. See, for example, Grayson's survey in *Grayson Chronicles* p. 57, and his most recent discussion in *Or* NS 49 (1980) 154.

commentary on the text, followed by a discussion of its literary traits, historical allusions, theological perspectives, and genre and Sitz-im-Leben. By editing and discussing a text which has lain untouched for over three decades, we hope to follow Erica Reiner's programmatic advice that "our scholarly duty lies in the interpretation and reinterpretation of long-known texts, in order to gain more insight into both the underlying civilization and the literary forms that exist as its vehicles."¹¹

The text

The edition presented here is based primarily on the copy made by E. Ebeling and F. Köcher. No photograph is published or currently available,¹² and no physical description of the tablet is provided. Questionable passages were kindly collated by Dr. Markham Geller.

The obverse shows 29 lines preserved, with the beginning broken away and the left edge effaced. The reverse shows 27 lines, of which the first 23 are nearly complete. We thus have nearly fifty continuous lines of text. The obverse is more mutilated than the reverse, especially on the left side of the tablet, and particularly in lines 19'-23'. Between lines 18' and 19' of the obverse there is a dividing line.

Obverse

- [] x H U x []
 [] x x []
 [] Z I-š u []
 [] x [x] x x []
- 5'. x [x (x)]-nu [x] x x nu ni []
*i[k-pu-du] i+na libbī(ŠÁ¹)-š u-¹nu¹ tuqunta(GIŠ.LÁ)
 mārū(DUMU.MEŠ) []*
t[a-ḥa-za] ik-[š]u-ru i-še-lu kakkē(GIŠ.TU[KUL])-š[u-un]
id-[de-k]u-ma qabal(MURUB₄)-šú-nu na-ak-ru-UM
ḥur-[ša]-ni kalū(DÛ)-šú-nu qi-na-a-ni pu-uḥ-<ḥu>-ru
- 10'. KUR Ū-qu-ma-nu-¹ú¹ [?] *id-de-ki qa-bal-šu*
Mu-[uṣ]-ru a-na mīt-ḥu-ši šá-kín it-te-šu
ša [p]u-uḥ-ri gap-šu-su-nu i-^{}ru-u^{*}*
Qu-tu-ú^{}ni¹ it(sic)-te-ziz šá-lum-mat ḥi-it-muṭ*
šābū(ERIM.MEŠ) šadī(KUR-i) kalū(DÛ)-šú-nu ti-il-lat KUR Ḥab-ḥi

11. E. Reiner, "Another Volume of Sultantepe Tablets," JNES 26 (1967) 177.

12. We thank Dr. Liane Jakob-Rost for this information, conveyed to us in a letter of 13.5.85.

- 15'. [a-n]a re-šu-ut a-ḥa-miš it-taš-ku-nu gi-mir-ta
 x[]x EN ne-ra-ar-šu-nu x[]-un maḥ-ru-š[u-n]u
 k[i-m]a u₄-me nin-du-ru a-ši-ta šak-nu
 x[]-LI/ŠA kit-pu-tu ša-bur-ta še-e-^{*}[ʔu(ʔ)]¹-^{*}[x(ʔ)]

-
- 20'. x[(x)-ni]m(ʔ)-ma [da]n(ʔ)-niš si-qi-ir-šu-nu ša qab-[li]
 šal-ṭ[i-iš] bēlu(EN) ḥa-[liq]-ta-šu-nu ú-še[-x-x]
 [(traces only) i+na pu-u]ḥ-ri ⁴Enlil(BE)
 [(traces only)] at-ta-id il(DINGIR) Ê-kur
 [i(ʔ)]-ru-ur [x x].MEŠ nišī(UN.<MEŠ>)-šu-[nu]
 [a-na š]a-ga-áš nakrē(KÚR.MEŠ) ú-šar-riḥ ila(DINGIR)
 25'. [iš-m]u-nim-ma kúl-lat ilāni(DINGIR.MEŠ) si-qir-šu
 [⁴A]-šur iq-ṭa-bi ša-ga-áš za-a-a-^{*}ra(ʔ)
 [ḥu]l-lu-uq nakrē(KÚR.MEŠ) ú-ša-a šap-t[e-šu]
 [ub]-lam-ma lib-ba-šu ša-ga-ša-a-t[u]
 [le]m-ni a-na su-pu-ḥi p[a](ʔ)-a-šu ^{*}iz-¹x-(x)¹

Reverse

- a-[n]a nu-šur um-ma-na-a-te-šu-nu tuqunta(GIŠ^{*}LÁ) ib(!)-ni
 qabla(MURUB₄) ik-ta-šar ú-kín saḥ-maš-ta
 kakkē(GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ) e-te-si-iḥ na-mur-ru-^{*}te
 um-da-ir-ma a-na tu-šá-ri (x) ^{*}m[i(ʔ)]-gir-šu
 5. ^mTukul(GIŠ.TUKUL)-ti-apil(A)-Ê-šar-ra a-li-la ú-šar-raḥ
 kakkē(GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ)
 i+na maḥ-ri(IGI)-šú-ma ⁴Enlil(BE) a-na tuq-ma-te i-re-di-šú
⁴Ištar(U+DAR) be-let te-še-e di-ka-su a-na qabli(MURUB₄)
 [t]a-me-eḥ-ma⁴Ninurta(MAŠ) ašarid(SAG) ilāni(DINGIR.MEŠ) pa-nu-uš-šu
 im-nu-uš-šu ⁴Nusku(ENŠADA) kúl-lat a-a-bi i-šá-giš
 10. šu-me-lu-šu nakrē(KÚR.MEŠ) i-ra-ḥi-iš ⁴Ad-du
 ra-ki-is-ma arki(EGIR)-šú-nu ú-šá-az-na-an
 kakkē(GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ)
 u₄-mi-šam-ma eli(UGU)-šú-nu ri-ḥi-il-ta ši-it-ku-un
 (x) šit-mur (x) šarru(MAN) a-na Qu-ma-ni-e ^{*}ša(ʔ)-^{*}[qa(ʔ)]-te(sic)
 kúl-lat ma-ḥa-zi-šu-nu i-ka-šad gim-ra
 15. šá-qu-te ālāni(URU.MEŠ)-šu-nu ú-ḥap-pa ki ma-ši
 [qe]r-be-et nap-šá-te-šu-nu i+na-saḥ áš-na-an
¹i+n¹a-ki-is inba(GURUN) šip-pa-ta ú-ḥal-laq
 eli([U]GU) ḥur-šá-ni-šu-nu a-bu-ba uš-ba-a¹
 [p]ú-luḥ-ta it-ta-di e-lu ši-ri-šu-un

20. *e-du-ru-ma kalū(DÛ)-šú-nu za-a-a-ru*
me-lam-mu ek-du-tu bu-ni-šu-nu e-tar-mu
[a-n]a ʿA-šur ik-nu-šu ka-liš [hu]r-šá-nu
 [] ʿxʿ it-tas-qa-ru su-lum ša-ab-tu-ni
 [iš(?) -m]e(?) šarru(MAN) si-qir-šu-nu ša tu-ub libbi(ŠÀ)
25. [] i-kap-pu-ud ʿxʿ []
 [] i-ba-ʾi []
 [] ʿxʿ []

Obverse

- 6'. The sons of the [mountains(?)] devised warfare in their hearts.
 They prepared for battle, they sharpened their weapons.
 The enemies initiated their war.
 All the highland(ers) were assembled clan by clan.
- 10'. The Qumanian initiated his war.
 The Mušrian was at his side for the conflict.
 The mass of the assembled-force was coordinated.
 The Gutian seethed, aflame with terrifying splendor.
 All the armies of the mountains, the Confederation of the Ḫabḫu
 lands
- 15'. came to each other's aid in strength.
 [] their help [] before them.
 Like a storm they raged, instituting anarchy.
 Plotting [], seeking sedition.
-
- 20'. Although their talk of war was extremely(?) . . . ,
 mightily the Lord pronounced(?) their destruction.
 [] Enlil, [in the asse]mbly . . .
 [] "I have praised the god of the Ekur."
 He cursed(?) [] their people.
 For the purpose of slaughtering the enemy he made a god
 pre-eminent
- 25'. All the gods heard his utterance.
 Aššur commanded "Slaughter the enemy!"
 "Destroy the foe" went forth from his lips.
 Slaughter swayed his heart.
 To eradicate the wicked ones, his mouth . . .

Reverse

- In order to diminish their troops he (Aššur) created battle.
 He prepared war, he caused disarray (among the enemies).
 He girded himself with awesomely bright weapons.
 He directed to the battlefield his favorite.
5. He makes pre-eminent the weapons of Tiglath-pileser,
 the champion.
 In front of him (Tiglath-pileser), Enlil leads him into war.
 Ištar, Lady of Turmoil, stirs him to battle.
 Ninurta, foremost of the gods, takes (position) at his fore.
 On his right, Nusku massacres all the enemies.
10. On his left, Addu devastates the foes.
 He (the king) follows close upon them (the gods) raining down
 weapons.
 Daily, he inflicts upon them devastation.
 The king storms against the lofty(?) Qumanian lands.
 All of their cult centers he conquers completely.
15. Their lofty cities he smashes to the last one.
 From the fields of their sustenance he rips out the grain.
 He cuts down the fruit, the orchards he destroys.
 Over their mountain lands, he causes a Deluge to pass.
 Fear he has cast upon them.
20. All of the enemies were afraid.
 A fierce sheen came over their faces.
 To Aššur, all the mountain lands submitted.
 [] were said, the peace with which they were seized(?).
 The king [hear]d(?) their statement of good will.
25. [] he devises []
 [] he passed through []

Philological notes

Line 6'. The beginning of *ik* is preserved. Although *libbu* appears commonly as the nominative subject of the verb *kapādu*, it can also be rendered as the object of a preposition as it is in the line: *ša ana šarri ina libbīšu ikappudu lem[nutta]*, “who plots in his heart evil against the king” (AfO 13 211:33, Asb.), and with locative-adverbial case in *aĵumma ša libbuššu ikappudu lemnēti*, “anyone who plots evil in his heart” (VAS 1 57 iii 3, MB kudurru, improperly listed in CAD K 173 “with *libbu* or a synonym as subject”). The sentence could end with a toponym or a

gentilic, but in this section of the text proper nouns seem to be concentrated in lines 10'-15' (see structural analysis below). Alternatively, and in our opinion preferably, the line may have contained a non-specific geographical term such as *šadû* or *ḥuršānu*.

Lines 6'-7'. Note the parallel for these two lines: *baḫḫāru ana imēri ikappuda qabl[u] ana qīt napištīšunu usaḫḫana paṭaršu*, "the hunter plans an attack on the (wild) donkeys, to put an end to their life, he sharpens(?) his knife" (LKA 62:5f.).

Line 7'. See CAD K 260 *kašāru* sub 3d), especially *idkâ ummānšu ikšura tāḫāzu uša'ala kakkēšu*, "he mustered his army, he prepared battle, he sharpened his weapons" (Streck Asb. 190:21 and 220:7; both passages describe the treacherous preparations for battle made by Teumman, King of Elam).

Line 8'. The restoration of this line is based on line 10' as well as on the Assurbanipal passages cited above in the commentary to line 7'. The mimation in *nakrum* is inexplicable. If *nakrum* is the subject of the sentence as well as the antecedent of the pronoun *-šunu* in the preceding word, it should be in the plural. Note the writing of KÚR.MEŠ in lines 24', 27', and rev. 10.

Line 9'. The word *qinnu* with the plural morpheme *-ānu* is otherwise unattested (see CAD Q 257-60); AHW 1 480b therefore renders this lexeme as *kin-na-a-ni* and places it under *k/qinnû*, "Berg." However, the idiom in our verse is *qinnu* with *puḫḫuru*, which can be compared with *qinna puḫḫurta usappiḫu*, "scattered a gathered clan" in Šurpu II 53, cf. Parpola LAS 122 (=ABL 3 58) rev. 17-20; *qinnāte* is similarly used to describe the Qumanu in Tiglath-pileser's annals: 300 *qinnāte bēlē ḫīṭi* (AKA 81 vi 31).

Lines 10'-14'. In this and the following lines, the 'ponyms are declined in accordance with their syntactic slot in the sentence. Thus Qumanu, Mušru, and Qutû occur in the nominative when they are the grammatical subject of the sentences in which they occur. Similarly, Ḫabḫu, in the expression *tillat Ḫabḫi* (line 14'), occurs in the genitive in status rectus, as expected. Thus we must assume that the sign KUR functions solely as a word determinative and should not be read *māt* in our text.

Line 10'. In this line the writing of the gentilic Qumanu reflects the orthography found in the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I: KUR Ū-*qu-ma-ni-i* (Weidner Tn. p. 13 no. 6:5, p. 23:5, and passim) whereas in rev. 13 the form *Qu-ma-ni-e* is that employed in the annals of Tiglath-pileser (AKA 75:73, 76:82, 82:36, and passim). Note also that in LKA 63 rev. 13 the determinative KUR is absent, another indication that it was not pronounced. See further Borger Einleitung 1 118 sub m.

Line 12'. The *puḫru* refers to the assembled families of the mountain lands, for which see line 9'. For *gapšūtu*, a variant form of *gipšūtu*, see AHW 1 281b. This is the subject of the verb *iru*², with *ša puḫri* being an anticipatory genitive; this opinion is contrary to that of von Soden, who posits a *Landname* in the beginning of the sentence, followed by an adverbial accusative of condition.

Line 13'. Despite difficulties, the restoration of the gentilic Qutû seems certain since it is found together with the Uqumanu in the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I; compare [*ši*]ddi māt Qutî rapalti [*māt Uq*]manî (Weidner Tn. p. 8 no. 2:22) and additional references in RGTC 5 191ff. The historical archaizing tendencies in this literary work are discussed in more detail below. The 'ni' sign could have resulted when the scribe started to impress the following ID sign but decided either that he had not left enough space between words or that the middle wedge was too long. The second half of the line should be read as it is in CAD H 64b s.v. *ḥamāṣu* B. In AHW 1 316a, von Soden transcribes *ša lumniḫ hitmuṣ* and translates "der Böse ist sehr in Eile," associating *hitmuṣ* with *ḥamāṣu* II (=CAD *ḥamāṣu* A). However, he does not cite the passage under *lumnum* (AHw 1 563f.) nor is there any other example of *ša lumni*. Note the parallel use of the verbs *ezēzu* and *ḥamāṣu* in the following: *iz-ziz-ma šurrušu iḫmuṣa kabattuṣ*, "his insides became enraged, his innards burned" (TCL 3 413); *Tukulti-apil-Ešarra nablu ḥamṣu šūzuzu abūb tamḥāri*, "Tiglath-pileser, searing flame, raging, Deluge of battle" (AKA p. 72 v 42-43). The orthography *it-te-ziz* is perhaps a mistake for *i-te-ziz*.

Lines 17'-18'. The state of affairs which the enemy nations have created is sketched by a series of short verbal phrases. The verbs in these phrases are in the plural stative: *namdurū . . . šaknū . . . kitputū . . . še'ū*.

Line 17'. Compare *Girra . . . ūmu nanduru* (Maqlu II 126, IX 32) as well as *ūmu nanduru*, referring to Aššur (for references, see CAD N/1 258a s.v. *nanduru* A). The phrase *ašita šaknū* literally means "they spread confusion" and the phrase *saḥmašta ukīn* (rev. 2) "he caused confusion." However, the words *ašitu/ešitu/ešātu* and *saḥmaštu* have the connotations of (1) anarchy, political disorder (as in *ina ešitu u saḥmašti ša māt Akkadī pulukkašun išnīma*, "during the disorder and turmoil in the land of Akkad their (the fields') boundary was changed" (BBSt 10 rev. 3-4, NB); (2) disarray in battle (as in *ašar tāḥāzim u qablim kakkašu lišbir išitam saḥmaštam liškunšum*, "may she (Ištar) break his weapon on the battle-field, may she create for him confusion and turmoil" (CH li 2-7, epilogue). In our text, in which the pair is broken up, *ašitu* means anarchy (the

enemies spread anarchy in the course of their rebellion against the king of Assyria), while *saḥmaštu* means disarray (Aššur by preparing for battle frightens the enemies and causes them to be in disarray).

Line 18'. There is no obvious candidate for the accusative object lost at the beginning of the verse. Following the suggestion of W. G. Lambert we read the next fully preserved word as *kit-pu-tu*; the form is the masculine plural Gt-stative. An alternative reading is *saḥ-pu-tu*, a masculine plural nominative of the passive verbal adjective *saḥpu* (se CAD S 66 s.v. *saḥpu* A). Because of the parallel series of short verbal phrases before and after this phrase we believe that *kitputū* is the better reading. In the next phrase the accusative object is *šaburtu*, which the dictionaries define as “falsehood, malice” (CAD Š 55 s.v. *šaburtu*; note also CAD Š 44 s.v. *šabru* A, “false, malicious”) and “Böses, Übel” (AHw 3 1511b s.v. *zapru* 4f). Although this word undoubtedly has such a meaning, it should have a more precise connotation in political contexts. In vassal treaties, kings do not plot malice but rather sedition (KBo 1 r. 29 and similar references). This sedition includes armed conflict as in *ana šalāl mātika* ‘Aššur *igdammilu šaburta* áš-[šu . . .], “for the destruction of your land, O Aššur, they accommodate each other, in sedition they commiserate” (KAR 128:27, bil. prayer of Tukulti-Ninurta). We take *še-e-^lu*’-[(?)] to be a verbal predicate from *še’û*; compare *taštene’a ruḥê šaburûte* (Maqlu V 121). According to the collations of M. Geller, the third sign appears to be -^l*im*¹- while the end of a horizontal wedge can be seen following the effaced section. This description raises the possibility that we actually are dealing with an elongated ^u*u* sign; in that case the word should be read *še-e-^lu*¹.

Lines 19’-24’. The subject of this passage is Enlil.

Line 19’. “Their talk of war” refers back to the *šaburta* mentioned in line 18’. MAN may be read *šarru*, in which case it would be the subject of the sentence and be parallel to EN/*bêlu* in the next line. However, since the line begins with a verb ending in an enclitic -*ma* and since there is another sign between the -*ma* and the MAN, the MAN should be read as *nîš*, resulting in an adverb parallel to our postulated *šalṭîš* of line 20’. A suitable adverb might be *dannîš*; the end of the *dan*-sign seems indeed to be visible on the copy. A verb, of which the subject is *siqiršunu*, is expected at the beginning of the sentence.

Line 20’. The object of this sentence, *ḥaliqtu*, normal means “lost (thing)” or “loss” (CAD H 42f.) when it appears in legal contexts. In the present passage it is related to the D stem of *ḥalāqu* meaning “to destroy or ruin” (CAD H 39b), as it does also in line 27’ of our text. Compare also

naspuḥ mātišu ḫalāq nišišu u kudurrišu ina pišunu kabti lišamma, “may the (order for) the dispersal of his country and the ruin of his people and heirs emanate from their noble mouths” (AOB 1 66:53-54, Adad-nirari I), *Ellil . . . ḫalāq dīšu naspuḥ nišišu . . . ina pišu kabtim liqbi*, “May Enlil command by his noble mouth the ruin of his city and the dispersal of his people” (CH xlix 73-74). We expect a *verbum dicendi* as predicate, perhaps *ú-še-[eš-mi]* or *ú-še-[di]*, although there is room for two signs.

Line 23’. The restored *irur* is highly conjectural. For the topos of gods cursing evildoers, see *ilū rabūtum in napharīšunu arratam lamuttam li-ru-ru-uš*, “may the great gods in their entirety curse him (the transgressor) with an evil curse” (UET 1 276 ii 4-8, Naram-Sin); *ilū rabūti ina naphartim [l]i-r[u]-ru-šu-m[a]*, “may the great gods in (their) entirety curse him” (MARI 3 60 no. 9:10f., OB Mari), and further references in CAD A/2 under *arāru* A.

Line 24’. Enlil’s role in the divine council terminates here with his praise of an unnamed god, who turns out to be Aššur. Compare Anu’s repeated promises made to Adad, Girra, and Šara in the divine assembly: *šitrah ina maḥar ilīma*, “Be exalted before the gods” (JCS 31 84:44, 65, and 86:86, SB Anzu).

Line 26’. Although CAD Z 15 s.v. *zajāru* a) reads [. . .] *ša iqtabi šagāš za-a-a-ri*, Geller’s collations indicate that the final sign is *-ra*.

Line 28’. For the restoration *ša-ga-ša-a-tu*, see AHw 3 1127a s.v. *ša(g)gaštu* and CAD S 154b s.v. *sapāḫu*. Compare, in broken context, AfO 22 75:5, also a Middle Assyrian text.

Line 29’. The expected *pāšu ēpuš*, “he spoke (lit. he worked his mouth)” is impossible since, according to Geller, the last two signs can be neither *e-piš* nor *iq-bi*, but appear to be GIŠ.IG. Could it be a very crowded or incorrect rendering of *is-<sa>-qar*?

Rev. lines 1-5. The subject of these lines may still be Aššur, in which case the scene depicts the god girding himself for war.

Rev. line 1. For *ana nuššur ummānātēšunu*, compare *Nergal ummān nakrē inaššar UD nušurrū ina māt <nakri> ibašši*, “Nergal will diminish the enemy troops, or, there will be a diminishing in the land of the enemy” (CT 6 2 case 31, OB liver model); *nušurrū ina libbi ummānija ibašši*, “there will be a diminishing from the midst of my troops” (BE 36404:28, MB extispicy; see Weidner AfO 16 74). Collation confirms the transliteration of all but the last two signs. According to Geller the final two signs look like ŠU NI. Ebeling’s copy, however, lends itself to reading *ib-ni*, and this reading makes complete sense in the context. For *tuqunta ibni*, compare En. el. VI 23, 25, and 29, and note also the synonymous *anata banū* (BWL 170:29).

The following line ends with the words *ukīn saḥmašta*, which is a synonymous expression with the elements inverted. Note also the appearance of the well attested word pair *banū // kunnu*.

Rev. line 2. Although CAD s.v. *saḥmaštu* reads the first word as *tāḥāza*(MĒ), the sign ends with two vertically aligned wedges as does MURUB₄, and we therefore opt for the reading *qabla*. See also the commentary to obv. line 17'.

Rev. line 3. CAD E 426 s.v. *ezēḫu* 1 reads GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *e-te-si-iḫ namurru la[biš]*, "he girt (his) weapons, clad in awesomeness," whereas CAD N/1 254 s.v. *namurru* reads the last word as *na-mur-ru-te* and translates "he girded himself with the awe-inspiring weapons." Collation confirms the latter reading.

Rev. line 4. The suggested reading *mi-gir-šu* has been confirmed by collation; see also Hincke Kudurru ii 21. If the subject of lines 1-5 is Aššur, as assumed here, and not the king, then the favorite would be the king himself who is now sent onto the battlefield. The fourth from last sign is most likely an erasure since it looks suspiciously like the beginning of the next sign.

Rev. line 5. Note the similar sections beginning and ending with the verb *šarāḫu* in the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic: [. . .] x *ušarraḫ ilašu* AN [. . .] (AfO 18 44 BM 98730 rev. 24 =vib 24), as well as lines 36 and 37 at the beginning of a strophe, and *ušarraḫ kakkē* "vi" 9 (=ia 9) at the end of a strophe.

Rev. line 7. Ištar's title *bēlet tēšē* is, to the best of our knowledge, found otherwise only in the first edition of Tiglath-pileser's annals (AKA 29 i 13; see Tallqvist Götterepitheta 65; AHw 3 1353a s.v. *tēšū*). It is an idiosyncratic substitute for Ištar's usual epithets *bēlet tāḥāzi*, *bēlet qabli*, and the like.

Rev. line 8. There are two problems in this line: the missing object for the verb and the interpretation of SAG DINGIR.MEŠ. The object of the sentence could be understood as a weapon, with an ellipsis for *tameḫ miṭṭi* or *tameḫ tilpani u ušši* (Tallqvist Götterepitheta 242f.). On the other hand, the sentence may contain no direct object. If *tameḫma* is understood together with *panuššu*, the resultant phrase would be *tameḫma panuššu*, parallel to *rakisma arkišunu* in line 11. As for SAG DINGIR.MEŠ, it is most likely an epithet of Ninurta. One of the common epithets of this deity is *ašarid ilī* (see CAD A/2 417a s.v. *ašaredu* 1a)-2'). The writing SAG rather than SAG.KAL is rare but not unattested, and in this connection the spelling SAG-*id* should also be noted: *Ninurta qardu* SAG-*id* *ilī* (Tn.-Epic "ii" 31 =v 38). Note also [*al*]ik ana panišu a-šá-rid DINGIR.MEŠ *Ninurta* (LKA 62:4).

Rev. line 11. For *rakis arki*, “to follow close upon,” see the references collected in AHw 2 946a s.v. *rakāsu* 7c, as well as . . . *rābiš šulmi itti amēli rakis* . . . *rābiš lemutti arki amēli rakis*, “a genius of well-being walks closely by the man . . . a genius of ill-being follows close upon the man” (CT 39 2:98f., Šumma ālu) and compare *lizziz ilī ina imniya lizziz [ištari] ina šumēlija šēdu damqu lamassu [lu ra]kis ittija*, “may my protective god stand at my right, may my protective goddess stand at my left, may the good *šēdu* and the good *lamassu* spirits walk close by me” (BMS 22:17-19). The subject of the sentence is Tiglath-pileser (against AHw 2 946a, GN *rakisma arkišunu*). It is not Addu, who, according to the previous line, is at the king’s left. The referent for *-šunu* is the group of gods mentioned in the preceding verses. The subject of the sentence is now the king, as is confirmed by similar expressions such as: *arki ilī tiklišu šarru ina pani ummāni ušarri qabla*, “behind the gods in whom he trusts, the king, at the head of the army, charged into battle” (Tn.-Epic “ii” 33 = v 40); *arki ilūtīšunu rabūtīm allak*, “I go behind their great divinities” (Borger Esarh. 65:17); en^dNinurta.k[e₄(?)] egir.a.né nam.mi.in.[ús]: ‘*ana/ša¹ be-¹li x x x x x¹-ti arka iraddišu*, “The [. . .] of lord Ninurta follows behind him” (Cooper Angim 66:68); *rē^u māt Aššur ālik arkīki*, “I (Sargon) the shepherd of the land of Assyria who goes behind you (Nanā)” (BA 5 628 K.3600+DT 75 iv 19 = Craig ABRT 1 55).

Rev. line 12. Compare *ušammar ūmišam ana ḥulluq māt Aššur šutrušat ubānišu*, “every day he endeavors, his finger is pointed (with the intent) of destroying the land of Assyria” (Tn.-Epic “ii” 17 = v 24).

Rev. line 13. The break at the beginning of the line does not leave much space for any sign. According to collation it is doubtful if there ever was a sign between MUR and MAN. The last three signs are difficult. Geller reports that the second from the last could be *-da-*, but he draws a sign which could equally well be *-ša-*. As for the penultimate sign, he states that “it is a small sign, more like ‘*qa*’.” Note the resultant alliteration (š,q) in the verse. Unfortunately the resultant reading *šaḳāte* creates grammatical difficulties in that it is a feminine plural. The land of Qumanu has the grammatical feminine singular gender accord: KUR *Qu-ma-ni-i/e* AMA-*ta ana siḫirtiša* (AKA 82:36, Tiglath-pileser I). The expected reading *ra-pal-te* is excluded by collation.

Rev. line 15. Both AHw 1 489b and CAD K 444b read *šaḳūte ālānīšunu uḥappa ki-iš!-ši*, “he destroyed the sanctuaries of their towering cities.” Nonetheless, the reading *ki ma-ši* makes a better parallelism with *gimra* in the preceding line.

Rev. line 16. Compare [*ina qerb*]ēti tušabši napišti niši [*ašnan*], “in the fields you (Marduk) bring forth grain, the sustenance of humanity” (KAR 59:36 and duplicates; see Mayer Gebetsbeschwörungen 443, a prayer to Ea); *ina eršetišu ašnan napišti niši aj ušabši*, “in his land, may he (Ea) not enable grain, the sustenance of humanity, to grow” (CH i 10-13).

Orthography, Language, and Style

Because LKA 63 exhibits a combination of Assyrian and Babylonian traits, it has been variously assigned to Middle Assyrian, Neo-Assyrian, Middle Babylonian, or Standard Babylonian literature.¹³ The reason is that the paleography is manifestly Assyrian whereas, with a few exceptions, the phonology and morphology are decidedly Babylonian.

The paleography most strongly resembles that of Tiglath-pileser’s annals as described already by King.¹⁴ We find the ligature *i+na*, Middle Assyrian forms of signs such as SAG, TU, BA, and SU, as well as extra vertical, horizontal, or oblique wedges in numerous signs. However, the scribe is not totally consistent. For example, in line 19’ QIR is written with three horizontals, but in line 25’ with four. Assyrian orthography is also found in the exclusive use of ĀŠ for /aš/ and in the employment of the CVC signs *kīn* (ḪAR) and *kūl* (GUL).

As for phonology, this text does not exhibit Assyrian vowel harmony or Assyrian infinitival forms, but it does display Babylonian vowel contraction and Middle Babylonian phonological developments. The exceptions are the partial assimilation of the *t* to the *q* in the verb *iqṭabi* as well as the Assyrian *s* in the word *siqru* rather than the Babylonian form *zikru*. Morphologically, there may be one occurrence of the Assyrian subjunctive in line 23 of the reverse, *šabtūni*, but this form is just as likely to be a third person plural ventive suffix. Case distinctions are clearly made in this text. The lexicon also shows Babylonian lexemes such as *itti*.

In addition to the linguistic phenomena discussed above, LKA 63 displays characteristics of the poetic “hymno-epic dialect.” Note the following morphological elements associated with Akkadian poetry: apocopated pronominal suffixes (*šērišun*, rev. 19), terminative-adverbial suffix *-iš* (*kališ*, rev. 22; *šaṭiš*, obv. 20’), locative-adverbial suffix *-um* (*maḥruššunu*, obv. 16’; *panuššu*, *imnuššu*, *šumēluššu*, rev. 8-10), and the

13. CAD variously refers to this text as MA lit., NA lit., and SB lit.; AHw calls it mB and jB lit.

14. AKA pp. 30-31 n. 2.

archaizing preposition *elu* for *eli* (rev. 19). Furthermore, there is a tendency to archaize and insert the nominative forms of the gentilics which are never found elsewhere.

If we turn from morphology to syntax, this text shows poetic syntactic deviations, that is, poetic inversions of the normal syntactic order of noun-adjective, object-subject-verb, etc. Within single verses, the favored tense sequence is the perfect, followed by the stative (see obv. 13', rev. 22).

The poetic diction consists of words known from the "hymno-epic dialect" and from the royal inscriptions, as well as rare and unusual words such as *gapšūtu*, *rā'u*, *saḥpūtu*, and *šaggašātu*. It is interesting to note that certain vocables used here are first employed in historical literary texts before they are attested in royal inscriptions per se. Two cases in point are: *ālilu* and *šurruḫu*. *Ālilu*, "warrior, hero," first occurs as an epithet of Adad-nerari I in the epic concerning him, and is then found in the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic and in our text; in historical inscriptions it is first found in those of Shalmaneser III. *Šurruḫu* is initially used in the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic and then in our text and in LKA 64:3; it first appears in the royal inscriptions of Adad-nerari II.

Thematic Structure and Literary Analysis

Although the beginning and end of the poem are broken away and the preserved portion of the tablet is damaged at a crucial juncture (obv. 19'-23'), we shall try to offer a structural analysis of the extant portion of the text, knowing full well that a complete and precise discussion of the content and structure must perforce be imperfect.

In the following analysis, our endeavor to define the structural units of the text will be based on changes in subject as well as on the identification of well-known indicators of literary cohesion such as parallelism, chiasmus, concatenation, and inclusio (ring-formation).¹⁵ As a rule, this text does not seem to exhibit poetic unifying devices based on phonic principles such as alliteration, assonance, consonance, or rhyme. As exceptions to this rule there are occasional examples of consonance, as in rev. 16-17: [*qe*]r**b**ēt napšātēšunu inassah ašnan / / 'in'akkis inba šippata uḥallaq. Within individual verses we encounter *Tukultī-apil-Ešarra ālila ušarraḥ* (rev. 5, a verse which also has an orthographic parallel between its

15. For a discussion of these literary devices in Sumerian literature, see A. Berlin, Enmerkar and Ensuḫkešdanna: A Sumerian Narrative Poem, Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund, 2 (Philadelphia, 1979) 9-31.

extremities: GIŠ.TUKUL . . . GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ) as well as *šitmur šarru* (rev. 13).

LKA 63 is a narrative poem. It is divided externally into three parts by the line drawn between lines 18' and 19' of the obverse and by the edge of the tablet. The reverse of the tablet may on literary grounds be divided into two additional parts and the beginning of a third part (lines 1-11, 12-22, 23ff.), as we shall see below. The whole text is therefore divisible into at least five parts or strophes, of which four are preserved and the fifth is at least partially indicated.

The treatment presented below analyzes these strophes, first thematically and then structurally. The accompanying chart illustrates the schematic analysis.

Theme

The themes of the strophes are: (I) the belligerent provocation by the enemy; (II) a heavenly scene in which the gods meet in divine assembly; (III) a description of the battle preparations and the king's divine retinue; (IV) the king's victorious rampage; and (V) the aftermath of the war.

Strophe I may be subdivided into three stanzas: (a) tells of preparations for war; (β) reports the gathering of mountain dwellers and an alliance of the Uqumanu, Mušru, Qutû, and Ḫabḫu; (γ) describes the result of this foul coalition which spreads confusion and sedition.

Strophe II falls into two stanzas: (δ) tells of Enlil's speech in the Divine Assembly in reaction to the militant talk of the enemy. The Lord hears their words, commands their destruction, and possibly curses them. Stated otherwise, the words of the adversary (*šaburta*, *siqiršunu*) are met with words of Enlil (*ú-še*-[x x], *īrur*(?), *ušarriḫ*). The enemies' gathering by clans (*puḫḫurū*, *puḫri*) is countered by the Divine Assembly (*puḫri*). Stanza (ε) tells in turn of the gods' spoken reaction to Enlil's words. All the gods hear his speech (*siqiršu*) and Aššur, the god elevated for the occasion by Enlil and the *puḫru*, ordains the massacre of the wicked foe.

Strophe III contains two stanzas, (ξ) and (η). The first of these, (ξ), describes Aššur's preparations for battle. There is a combination here of spoken acts and physical actions which echo the language of the previous two strophes. The enemies' action, *tāḫāza iḫšuru išēlu kakkē*, is countered by Aššur's *tāḫāza iktāšar* . . . *kakkē ētesih*. The enemies' *ašita šaknū* (obv. 17') is reflected chiasmatically in Aššur's *ukīn saḫmašta* (rev. 2). The word *ašitu/ešitu* and its common synonym *saḫmaštu* appears frequently to-

<i>Strophe</i>	<i>Stanza</i>	<i>Lines</i>	<i>Poetic Unit</i>	<i>Main Topos</i>	<i>Sub Topos</i>
I	<i>a</i>	6'-8'	triplet (condensed quatrain)	enemy realm	mobilization
	<i>β</i>	9'-12'	quatrain		gathering of highlanders;
	<i>γ</i>	13'-16'	quatrain		
		17'-18'	couplet		spread of confusion
II	<i>δ</i>	19'-25'	heptad (=3 couplets + sg.)	divine realm	Enlil's speech
	<i>ε</i>	26'-29'	quatrain		Aššur's reply
III	<i>ζ</i>	1-4	quatrain	prelude to battle	Aššur girds Tiglath-pileser
	<i>η</i>	5-11	heptad (=sg. + 3 couplets)		and divine retinue
IV	<i>θ</i>	12-18	heptad (=3 couplets + sg.)	confrontation	rampage
	<i>ι</i>	19-22	quatrain		enemy submits
V	<i>κ</i>	23ff.	?	aftermath	

gether in a hendiadys construction.¹⁶ The stereotyped phrase is broken up here to be used in two interrelated literary units. Thus rev. 2 refers back to the first preserved triplet (obv. 6'-8', stanza *a*) and to the concluding couplet in the strophe describing the enemy (obv. 17'-18', end of stanza *γ*). This interrelationship may be an indication that obv. 6' is not only the first preserved line—a fact of no significance—but is actually the beginning of a literary unit; the broken part of the text which preceded it would then have been literarily distinct. Enlil's *ú-še-[x x]* and *ušarriḫ ila* are perhaps recapitulated in Aššur's *umda²²ir ana tūšari* and *ušarraḫ kakkē*.

The following three stanzas, namely, the second stanza of the third strophe (*η*), and the two stanzas of Strophe IV (*θ-ι*), combine to make a long account of the king's victorious campaign itself. We read first of the king (rev. 5) and his divine escort (rev. 6-10). This section is to be contrasted with the portrayal of the enemy confederacy found in two consecutive quatrains (stanzas *β-γ*, discussed below) in the first strophe of the text. The description of the enemy horde ends with the word *maḥruššunu* (obv. 16') and similarly the depiction of the divine escort accompanying the king commences with *ina maḥrišuma* (rev. 6). The report of the battle, and with it stanza (*ι*) concludes with the words *kalīš ḥuršāni* (rev. 22), reflecting chiastically the words with which the description of the enemy alliance began *ḥuršāni kalūšunu* (obv. 9'). The images of the rival forces are thus juxtaposed literarily by being enveloped by *ḥuršānu kalūšunu . . . maḥruššunu / / ina maḥrišuma . . . kalīš ḥuršāni*. Ištar arousing the king into battle (*dekāssu ana qabli*, rev. 7) recalls *Uqumanū idekki qabalšu* (obv. 10') and perhaps (the restored) *iddekūma qabalšunu nakrū* (obv. 8'). The tableau of the divine escort (stanza *η*) leads up to a tale of the destruction itself (stanza *θ*). The king's actions *ūmišam . . . riḫilta šitkun* (rev. 12) echo paronomastically although not semantically the description of the enemy *kīma ūme nindurū ašita šaknū* (obv. 17'). The *šalummatu* of the enemy (obv. 13') is met by the *namurrūte*, *puluḫtu*, and *melammu* of the king and Aššur (rev. 3, 19, 21). By recapitulating the vocabulary and structure of the presentation of the enemy, the author probably implies that the king's destructive rampage through enemy land is a suitable response to the enemy aggression—a punishment of measure for measure.

What remains of Strophe V is too fragmentary for meaningful analysis, although the preserved words seem to strike a positive chord with expressions such as *sullum šabtūni* (rev. 23) and *siqiršunu ša tūb libbi* (rev.

16. See further the commentary to obv. 17'.

24). The word *ikappud* in rev. 25 may be a reflex of *ikpudû* in obv. 6' and *kitputû* in obv. 18', while *ittasqarû* and *siqiršunu* (rev. 23, 24) are most likely to be related to *siqiršunu* and *siqiršu* in obv. 19' and 25'. Whatever the case may be, the practice of interrelating the narrative units by way of repeating key words or words used in structurally important positions most likely continued even into the portions of the text which have not been preserved.

Poetic Structure

Let us now investigate the more minute as well as the overall poetic structure and cohesiveness of the composition.

In Strophe I (obv. 6'-18') we may initially isolate two couplets. Lines 14' and 15' belong together because they constitute a single sentence. This is the sole case of enjambment in the text. Lines 10' and 11' may also be related because they contain the specific names of the two enemies. Around these two couplets may be identified quatrains. Lines 9' and 12' are to be connected because the root PḤR appears in each. Lines 9' through 12' thus constitute a quatrain with its members in AB/BA relationship. Lines 13'-16' also make up a quatrain, although in a different manner. As already stated, the middle two lines constitute a single sentence. Line 13' joins to the first half of this sentence by the Qutû being paired to the Ḥabḥu. Line 15' links with the second half of the sentence by the synonymous terms *rēšût* and *nērāršunu*.¹⁷ The result is two consecutive quatrains, each one centered upon the enemy. The first quatrain (lines 9'-12') presents the enemy in specific terms with the names Uqumanû and Mušru, while the second quatrain designates the foe by the more general ethnic term Qutû (= barbarian highlander) and the topographical designation Ḥabḥu.¹⁸

Lines 6'-8' (stanza *a*) make up a triplet, the only one in the piece. Each line contains a term for war: *tuquntu*, *tāḥāzu*, and *qablu*. Line 6' parallels line 8' syntactically (verb *ikpudû* // *iddekû*, object *tuqunta* // *qabalšunu*, subject *mārû x* // *nakrû*). Line 7' is a bicolon verse with internal syntactical chiasmus. Thus 6'-7a' // 7b'-8' in AB // B'A' relationship. In a sense this unique triplet is actually a condensed quatrain.

Finally, the two quatrains (lines 9'-12' and 13'-16') are linked through concatenation to the triplet preceding them (lines 6'-8') and to the couplet following them (lines 17'-18'). Line 8', which immediately precedes the

17. Cf. TCL 3 +KAH 2 141:107, in which *irtašî nērāra* appears parallel to *šakin rēšūssu*.

18. See the discussion of the historical background of the text, below.

first quatrain, is tied to the second line in the first quatrain (line 10') by the expression *dekû qabla*. Line 17', which immediately succeeds the second quatrain, is joined to the penultimate line in the quatrain (line 15') by the word *šakānu*. Lines 17'-18' form a couplet composed of two bicolon verses bonded together by parallel syntactic structure: nominal phrase + stative verb.

Unfortunately the broken nature of the beginning of the first strophe makes any further analysis of this unit impossible.

Strophe II contains two thematic stanzas (δ , lines 19'-25', and ϵ , lines 26'-29'), which tell of the words of Enlil, the gods, and Aššur. In the recital of Enlil's words, which are poorly preserved, lines 21' and 22' are coupled by reference in each to Enlil—once by name and once by the epithet "god of Ekur." Lines 19' and 20' are linked by the appearance in each of an adverb, *danniš* and *šaltiš* respectively. Moreover, they may be logically connected by the enclitic *-ma* following the verb at the beginning of line 19'. Assuming the restoration *īrur* in the beginning of line 23' is correct, this line is antithetically parallel to line 24', which ends with the word *ušarriḫ*. We may also assume a parallel between *nišišunu* and *nakrē*.

Verses 26'-29' constitute a quatrain recording the command of Aššur. This quatrain consists of two alternating sentence couplets. Lines 27' and 29' are related by *ḫulluq nakrē*, which stands in chiasmic opposition to the synonymous *lemni ana suppuḫi*, and by *ūšā šaptēšu*, which stands in chiasmic opposition to the synonymous *pāšu iz-¹x¹*. The words in the two parallel verses are thus in a relationship of AB CD // B'A' D'C'. Lines 26' and 28' are linked by the nominal phrases *šagāš zaijāra* and *šagašātu*, and by a syntactical chiasmus of subject-predicate // predicate-subject in *Aššur iqtabi* // *ublamma libbašu šagašātu*. In addition verses 26' and 27' are synonymously parallel: *iqtabi šagāš zaijāra* is reflected chiasmically in *ḫulluq nakrē* and *ūšā šaptēšu*.

Line 25' remains as an uncoupled verse standing at the point of transition between the sextet (three couplets) narrating Enlil's words (stanza δ) and the quatrain recounting Aššur's dicta (stanza ϵ). This verse contains the word *siqiršu*, which forms an inclusio (ring formation) with *siqiršunu* in the opening line of stanza δ (line 19'). It also contains the word *ilāni*, which links it to the last line in that stanza. The words *siqiršunu . . . ila* // *ilāni . . . siqiršu* stand in chiasmically-related AB // BA.

In line 24', *šagāš nakrē* anticipates *šagāš zaijāra* and *šagašātu* in the quatrain of stanza ϵ (lines 26'-29') and this concatenation links the two stanzas (δ , ϵ) of Strophe II.

The division suggested here, which may seem somewhat subjective in places, is confirmed by the fact that the resulting structure of a heptad (lines 19'-25') followed by a quatrain (lines 26'-29') [or a sextet (lines 19'-24') + transitory verse (line 25') + quatrain (lines 26'-29')], recurs twice more in the remainder of the text.

Strophes III and IV, which may be discussed together as a single unit, present a long description of the war which is very well balanced literarily. It is also full of "hymno-epic" characteristics, giving it an elevated style. Our analysis assumes that *ú-šar*-RIĤ in rev. 5 and *uš-ba*-³V in rev. 18 are both in the same tense. We may consequently isolate lines rev. 5-18 (or 6-17) as a sub-unit by merit of the presence of present tense verb forms. This feature sets it off from the rest of the work, which employs preterite and perfect verb forms. Stative forms of the predicate are found in both units.

Within the long two-stanza unit making up Strophe III, verses rev. 6-7 are paired by the chiasmus of the synonymous expressions *dekāssu ana qabli* and *ana tuqmāte iredđišu*. Verses rev. 8-11 are concentrically arranged, with 8 // 11 and 9 // 10. This arrangement is expressed by the statives *tameħma* and *rakis*, and the pair *pānū* // *arku* in verses 8 and 11, and by the pairs *imnu* // *šumēlu*, *ajjābu* // *nakru*, and perhaps, *šagāšu* // *raḥāšu* in verses rev. 9-10. Coming to strophe IV, we find that rev. line 12 ends and line 13 begins with Gt third masculine singular statives (*šitkun*, *šitmur*). The words *šitmur* and *riḥilta* are both terms associated with Addu. In addition, there is a link of consonance enforced by a chiasmus between *riḥilta šitkun* at the end of rev. line 12 and *šitmur . . . šaqāte* at the beginning and end of rev. line 13. Rev. lines 14-15 and 16-17 are clearly couplets because of the appearance of semantically related terms (*māḥāzīšunu* // *ālānīšunu*, *gimra* // *ki maši*, *qerbet* // *šippata*, *inba* // *ašnan*, *nasāḥu* // *nakāsu*) and either parallel or chiastically related syntax.

We thus find an entire section (III η and IV θ) composed of linked couplets preceded and followed by isolated non-paired verses (rev. lines 5 and 18). This section itself, consisting of fourteen lines (rev. 5-18) may be divided into two seven line sections, stanzas η and θ (rev. lines 5-11, 12-18). The beginning and concluding lines of the first heptad (rev. lines 5, 11) end with the word *kakkē*. The first and last lines of the second heptad (rev. lines 12, 18) contain the preposition *eli* and the related terms *riḥilta* (lit. "rain") and *abūbu* ("Deluge"). The two adjoining heptads (rev. lines 5-11 and 12-18) are thus delineated or "ringed" by inclusos.

This fourteen-verse two-stanza section, written in the present tense and consisting of two heptads, is preceded and followed by two stanzas (ξ and ι) of four verses each. Rev. lines 1-4 may be left unpaired or may be divided arbitrarily into two couplets, for which the possible justification is given below. Rev. lines 19-22, on the other hand, display alternating verse parallelism (19 // 21, 20 // 22). *Puluḥtu* in rev. line 19 corresponds to *melammu* in rev. line 21, and *kalūšunu* in rev. line 20 may be paired with *kališ* in rev. line 22. *Ḥuršānu* in rev. line 22 links this quatrain stanza through concatenation to *ḥuršānišunu* in rev. line 18, the last line of the preceding heptad stanza. The bond between the concluding quatrain and the transitional verse at the end of the heptad is further reinforced by the chiasmus *ḥuršānišunu* (rev. 18) - *kalūšunu* (rev. 20) // *kališ ḥuršāni* (rev. 22).

The climactic stanza ι (rev. lines 19-22) is joined to line 18 and to the larger two-stanza unit which it concludes (rev. lines 5-18) by the concatenation of the words *eli* and *ḥuršānu*, which appear together in rev. line 18, and then individually in the first and last lines (rev. 19, 22) of the concluding quatrain.

Our sense of equilibrium leads us to look for elements which would link lines 1-4 of the reverse to the transitional verse 5. Such a link is not altogether obvious or certain, but it may be possible to find it in the graphemes GIŠ.TUKUL in rev. lines 3 and 5. Within the quatrain of stanza ξ itself, the verses in rev. lines 1-2 are related by the syntactic parallelism of the expressions *tuqunta ibni(?)* // *ukīn saḥmašta* in an AB // BA relationship. Rev. line 1 may be linked to rev. line 4 by assonance of *ana nuššur* and *ana tušāri*. The š . . r . sequence in rev. lines 1 and 4 is found twice in line 5: *Ešarra . . . ušarraḥ*.

We might also expect to find some connection between the initial and concluding stanzas ξ (rev. lines 1-4) and ι (rev. lines 19-22). Such a connection is not all that apparent, but may be present between the words *namurrūte* (rev. 3) and *melammu* (rev. 21), which both describe awesome radiance.

Even without the last-mentioned items, which are esthetically pleasing but not entirely certain, it can be demonstrated that rev. lines 1-22 has a double formal structure. On one level, the structure is chiasmic (abc // c'b'a'), with units of four verses (rev. lines 1-4), one verse (rev. 5), and six verses (rev. 6-11), being recapitulated in mirror image by units of six verses (rev. 12-17), one verse (rev. 18), and four verses (rev. 19-22). [An alternate explanation is to see the structure as ab // b'a', with units of four verses

(rev. 1-4) and seven verses (rev. 5-11) being recapitulated in reverse order by units of seven verses (rev. 12-18) and four verses (rev. 19-22).] On the other level, the formal features are two units of parallel structure (ab / a'b'), each consisting of eleven lines (rev. 1-11, 12-22), the first seven of which contain three couplets (rev. 1-2, 3-4, 6-7 and 12-13, 14-15, 16-17, respectively) plus an isolated verse (rev. 5, 18) while the last four of each are climactic quatrains (rev. 8-11, 19-22):

1-2	3-4	5	6-7	8-11	A	B	C	D	E
12-13	14-15	16-17	18	19-22	A'	B'	D'	C'	E'

Combining the results of our analysis of obv. 19'-29' and rev. 1-22, we find that the part of the text following the dividing line has a unified structure. In the first place, a seven verse stanza is enveloped by the inclusio *siqru* (obv. 19'-25') and is followed by a quatrain stanza (obv. 26'-29'). The pattern is continued by a quatrain stanza (rev. 1-4) which is in turn succeeded by a seven-verse stanza marked off by the inclusio *kakkē* (rev. 5-11). Lastly, there is a seven-line stanza delineated by the inclusio *eli* and *riḥīlta* - *abūba* (rev. 12-18) followed by a quatrain stanza (rev. 19-22). The overall structure of obv. 19' - rev. 22 is thus AB // B'A' // A''B''.

It is interesting to note that at the very center of this structure, namely in the middle of Strophe III at the transitional verse between stanzas ζ and η (between B' and A') stands Tukultī-apil-Ešarra, the hero of the composition. Thus the entire poetic structure of the main narrative (excluding possible prologues and epilogues) seems to be designed as a frame for the main character. This assumes, of course, that the fragmentary fifth strophe (rev. 23ff.) counterbalances the somewhat less fragmentary first strophe (obv. 6'-8').

The relationship between the poetic structure and the thematic division is not always one of congruence but can also be one of overlapping. If verses obv. 24'-29' are considered as a group of three couplets because of the recurring phrase *sagāš* x, this poetic unit overlaps the thematic break between stanzas δ and ε in obv. 25'. Similarly, rev. 5, which belongs with verses 6-18 in the versification, relates thematically to the preceding section; it describes Aššur's preparations for war. Most interesting in this respect is rev. 11. This pivotal verse contains the word *arkīšunu*, which completes the image of the divine escort in the previous verses. Semantically it completes the four-directional sweep of verses rev. 8-11. These two features mark this line as an integral part of the quatrain which concluded

stanza *η* (rev. 5-11). Nonetheless, the subject of rev. 11 is the king and the line introduces his destructive activities which are expounded more fully in the verses which follow. Similarly rev. 12, which describes the king's rampage, uses the word *riḫīlta*, thus linking it to the description of Addu in the preceding line.

Historical Background

The Assyrian tradition of historical writing, already centuries old, forms the background for this poem in praise of Tiglath-pileser I. Many works are now available, but the ones that must be investigated in immediate connection with LKA 63 are the annals and certain summary inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I. Comparison of LKA 63 with the royal inscriptions reveals several points of similarity as well as certain significant differences in content and language.

Especially relevant in the summary inscriptions are the reports concerning the king's campaigns against the ethnic and geographic entities specifically mentioned in the poetic text. They are (U)qumanu, Mušru, Ḫabḫu, and Qutû (obv. 10', 11', 13', 14', and rev. 13). Of these four, the first two represent political units whereas the last two designate generalized geographical areas or peoples. The Ḫabḫu lands lie in the region to the north of Assyria, in the Taurus mountains, in the area reaching from the headwaters of the Upper Zab in the east to the borders of Hatti in the west.¹⁹ The ethnic term Qutû (Cutium) is much vaguer and refers to inhabitants of all or part of the Transigradian land, east and north of Assyria.²⁰ This is the geographical setting of Tiglath-pileser's sixth campaign against the Qumanu and Mušru, as related in his annals, but it should be noted that the designations Qutû and Ḫabḫu do not appear in the campaign description in the annals.

(U)qumanu

1. The annals record a set of campaigns against Uqumanu and Mušru, probably in Tiglath-pileser's fifth year (AKA 75-82 v 67 - vi 38). Similarities exist in the general lines of the narrative as well as in certain characteristic expressions.

19. L. D. Levine, "Ḫabḫu," RIA 4 13; see also K. Kessler, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens*, TAVO Beih. B/26 (Wiesbaden, 1980) 52ff.

20. W. W. Hallo, "Cutium," RIA 3 719.

First of all, only in the annalistic report of the king's fifth year are both Qumanu and Mušru mentioned. Secondly, both the annals and LKA 63 depict an enemy alliance which prepares for battle and then is thoroughly routed by the king. Both accounts may report ultimately favorable treatment of the enemy, if we may relate Tiglath-pileser's alleged mercy for the submissive king in the annals to the words *sullum šabtūni* and *siqiršunu ša tūb libbi* in the fragmentary final lines of LKA 63.

There are also correlations in language. According to the annals, the Qumanu go to the side of the Mušru *ana nārārūt Mušri* (AKA 75 v 74). LKA 63:16' contains in a broken line the word *nērāršunu*. The statement in the annals, *Qumani ša ana rēšūt Mušri iššaknu* (AKA 76 v 82-83) is reminiscent of the description of the Ḫabḫu in LKA 63:15': *ana rēšūt aḫameš ittaškunū gimirta* and of the Mušru in LKA 63:11': *Mušru ana miṭḫuši šakin ittešu*. The word *qinnu* is used in both texts to describe enemy units (AKA 81 vi 31, *qi-in-na-a-te*; LKA 63:9'). Other words appearing in both accounts, such as *ummānātu*, *ālānu*, *māḫāzu*, *šadā*, *ḫuršānu*, and *edēru*, taken cumulatively, may point to some sort of genetic relationship between the two, but their significance should not be overemphasized since they are common terms, found in numerous types of contexts.

These points of contact, both general and specific, permit us to relate LKA 63 to the events reported in the annals. Yet, despite the similarities, there remain a number of differences which need to be explained. The most obvious deviation is the inclusion of the Ḫabḫu and the Qutū in LKA 63. This elaboration might be taken as a sign that the Mušru-Qumanu campaign was conflated with other reports of wars in the land of Ḫabḫu, such as those found in the annals and in K.2807. This would not explain, however, the inclusion of the Gutians. We would also expect to find additional points of contact between these reports and LKA 63. It is therefore preferable to consider the allusion to Ḫabḫu and Qutū in LKA 63 as a poetic expansion of the campaign. This elaboration has its basis in the traditional inclusion of the specific political entities Mušru and Qumanu under the general topographical rubric Ḫabḫu and the ethnic designation Qutū.

Even in the places where the language of the two texts is most alike, it is manifest that one text does not simply cite the other; the case is rather that the two texts employ similar turns of expression. But even so they seem to present the events themselves differently. The extant sections of LKA 63 commemorate a single war in which an enemy alliance is the aggressive party. The belligerent confederacy arouses the ire of Enlil and the divine

assembly, causing them to appoint Aššur, who in turn apparently commissions the king. The annals, however, record what appear to be two distinct, albeit related, episodes. In the first, Aššur commands the king to conquer the Mušru (AKA 75 v 67-68 = Grayson ARI 2 §36). The king obeys (lines 68-73) and only then do the Qumanu come to the aid of the Mušru (lines 73-81). In the second skirmish, the recital of which is prefaced by the formula *ina ūmīšuma* and preceded by a dividing line, the Qumanu themselves are the aggressors (lines 82ff.) and they are defeated individually. In this confrontation the Mušru have no active role. They are mentioned only incidentally and secondarily as a people whom the Qumanu had assisted (lines 82-83) and as a land to which the enemy retreated (line 91). LKA 63 celebrates but a single war in which the Qumanu are the dominant partner in the enemy confederation. In rev. 13, they alone are mentioned, thus emphasizing their status as the major adversary. In obv. 10', they are depicted first among the allies, whereas the Mušru are clearly said to have rallied to their side (rev. 11': *Mušru ana mīthūši šakin ittešu*). Of the two events chronicled in the annals, it is the second one which is closer in substance to the recital of LKA 63. However, even though the second encounter seems to be the factual basis for the events narrated in the poetic text, the language is derived from the descriptions of both. Thus the words *nērāršunu* and *ittešu* stem from the annalistic report of the first hostilities (lines 74, *nārārūt*; 75, *ittešunu*), while *rēšūt*, *ittaškunu*, *šaknū*, and *qinnāni* are dependent on the second engagement (line 83, *ša ana rīšūt Mušri iššaknu*). The role of Aššur in ordaining the war may also be attributed to the first incident.

It is evident, therefore, that the author of LKA 63 has used poetic license to combine fully two distinct events which the annalist had painstakingly kept separate. The poet has preserved the fact that the Qumanu campaign was the more significant of the two, but he has introduced into his depiction the idea of the enemy alliance which, in fact, had been of consequence only in the first confrontation. By describing the enemy alliance as an entire league of nations the author takes a step towards aggrandizing the victory. Another step in the same direction is taken by mentioning the Ḫabḫu and the Qutū. Although in fact no new peoples are introduced, the audience is now presented with a picture of barbarian tribes and an entire immense region in turmoil. Furthermore, whereas in the annals the war may be seen as an act of aggression on the part of Tiglath-pileser, the poetic account clearly portrays the war as an act of self-defense.

By giving precedence to the Qumanu campaign, the author of LKA 63 emphasizes that the enemy was the aggressor and the Assyrians the aggrieved party. He plays down the annalistic note that the war against the Mušru was ordained by Aššur for the purpose of conquering their land (*ana kašād Mušri Aššur bēlu uma*²¹*iranni*, AKA 75 v 67-68), but he goes even further in his justification of the war. The word *šaburtu*, which appears in the context of the description of the enemy aggression, is a term commonly used in second millennium treaties and diplomatic letters to characterize sedition through infringement of treaties and loyalty oaths.²¹ We thus receive the impression that the author of LKA 63 is accusing the Mušru and Qumanu of some specific infringement of political obligations which they had incurred through a loyalty oath. We know that Tiglath-pileser was accustomed to impose loyalty oaths on vassal lands, as he did with sixty captured kings of Nairi.²² Such a loyalty oath is known to have been imposed on the Qumanu by Tukulti-Ninurta I, who, after describing his rout of the Qutû and Uqumanu states [*nīš ilāni*] *rabûti ša šamê eršeti utammīšunûti*, “I adjured them by an oath of the great gods of heaven and earth (Weidner Tn. 2 iii 4 = Grayson ARI 1 §689a).

We have demonstrated that LKA 63 is inferior to the annals as an historical source. Nonetheless it does seem to proffer certain information not found in the annals, namely, that the *casus belli* was an apparent alleged breach of allegiance. Furthermore, if we had not had the annalistic account, we would know of the Mušru-Qumanu campaign only from LKA 63 and the summary inscription, and the picture would not be exceedingly inaccurate. We will see below in the treatment of the religious aspects of the text that another event reported in the annals receives its theological explanation in LKA 63, and that LKA 63 describes in detail the religious ideology of the war, which is in itself no less an “historical fact” than military and political events.

21. The word is used in this manner in the propagandistic Tukulti-Ninurta Epic to accuse Kaštiliaš of breaching treaty commitments: [. . .] *x-ta [ša]r Kašši ištī māmita [. . .] šaburta ibni*, “. . . the king of the Kassites infringed the (treaty) oath . . . sin and sedition (*šaburtu*) he created” (Weidner Tn. “vi” 28-29 = ia 28-29); *ammīnimma ištū maḥra šar Kašši ešurtaka šipaḥka ipsus ul ištū māmitka ʔtiḫ šiparaka šaburta ʔm[i]*, “Why, from times gone by did the king of the Kassites obliterate your designs and your judgments? He did not respect your (treaty) oath, he transgressed your commands, he planned sedition (*šaburtu*),” (Weidner Tn. “v” 19-20 = ii 19-20).

22. H. Tadmor, “Treaty and Oath in the Ancient Near East: A Historian’s Approach,” in G. M. Tucker and D. A. Knight (eds.), *Humanizing America’s Iconic Book: Society of Biblical Literature Centennial Addresses* (Chico, CA, 1982) p. 149.

Comparison of the poetic version with the annalistic rendition indicates some of the pitfalls which the modern historian is liable to encounter when attempting to glean accurate history from literary sources. On the one hand, “literary” texts certainly provide “facts.” On the other hand, these “facts” are fully integrated into the “nonfactual” literary matrix contributed by the narrator, poet, author, or the like, and are indistinguishable from it.

2. Summary inscription K.2806 (AKA 116-20 = Grayson ARI 2 21 §71) contains an abridged version of the Qumanu war (obv. 13'-19') which is clearly based on the account found in the annals. Thus *kūl-lat KUR Qu-ma-ni-i*. . . XX LIM *um-ma-na-te-šu-nu*, which starts off the annalistic version (AKA 76 v 82, 87) occurs at the end of K.2806 as XX LIM ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ KUR *qu-ma-[ni]* (AKA 120:18). The annals report URU *Ḫu-nu-sa* URU *dan-nu-ti-šu ki-ma* DU₆ *a-bu-be áš-ḫu-up* (AKA 78 v 99-100), while the summary inscription states URU *Ḫu-nu-sa* [. . . *ás*]-*ḫu-up ana* DU₆ *ú kar-me ú-tir* (AKA 119:13-14). For the break Grayson provides, in italics, the translation “[*their fortified city*],” implying a restoration of [*ál dannūtišunu*]. In K.2806:15 we read [. . . URU] MAN-*ti-šu-nu* GAL-*a a-bu-bi-iš* [*áš-ba-ʾa*] (AKA 119:15), and on the basis of the annals’ URU *Kib-šu-na* URU LUGAL-*ti-šu-nu* (AKA 80 vi 23-24), we may safely restore Kipšuna as the name of the royal city in the summary inscription as well. The annals refer to the Qumanu as KUR *Qu-ma-ni-i* DAGAL-*ta* (AKA 82 vi 36), to which we may compare KUR *Qu-ma-[ni rapašti* . . .] in K.2806:18 (AKA 120) as restored by Borger (Borger Einleitung 1 116).

3. A third text that might mention the Qumanu is K.2807, also a summary inscription (AKA 121:3 = Grayson ARI 2 35 §137). In this text only the *Qu*-sign is preserved, but despite the possibility of reading *Qu-[ti-i]*,²³ both Borger²⁴ and Grayson²⁵ prefer the restoration *Qu-[me-ni]*. The text probably speaks of two cities of the Qumanu (URU.MEŠ-*ni ša* KUR *Qu-[ma-ni-i]*, line 3) which withheld tribute from the king. Provoked by this mutiny, the king went on a rampage, razing and plundering fourteen cities (see AKA 122:8-14, which has space for fifteen! names), including some of the land of Ḫabḫu. Borger and Grayson are of the opinion that the campaign recorded here is not the one referred to in the annals. Although they offer no substantiation for their position, we may assume that it is partly based on the fact that Ḫunusu and Kipšuna, which were mentioned

23. Suggested as an alternative reading by King in AKA p. 121 n. 4.

24. Borger Einleitung p. 120.

25. Grayson ARI 2 35 §137.

in the annals, are not included among the cities mentioned in K.2807. In addition, whereas K.2807 provides a detailed list of the cities devastated, the annals make only vague, unspecific reference to the destruction of cities (*ma-ḥa-zi-šu-nu* GAL.MEŠ *ak-šud i-na* GIBIL.MEŠ *áš-ru-up ap-pul aq-qur a-na* DU₆ *ù kar-me ú-tir*, AKA 77 v 96-98). It is unlikely that a summary inscription would replace a non-specific term such as *māḥāzi-šunu* with a detailed register of nearly twenty cities. Finally, Ḥabḥu is not mentioned in the annalistic account of the Qumanu war and Mušru is not mentioned in the summary account contained in K.2807. Although there is a general similarity between the annalistic account and that contained in K.2807 (both speak of rebellion followed by extensive destruction of the rebellious land; the two rebellious cities in the summary inscription may be none other than Ḥunusa and Kipšuna), there may be sufficient incongruities in significant details to bear out the evaluation of Borger and Grayson that the Qumanu campaign referred to in K.2807 is indeed distinct from the one in the annals. On the other hand, rather than referring to a separate campaign, K.2807 may actually relate to the same campaign but represent an independent version of the report, not connected to the one found in the annals, K.2806, and LKA 63.

4. The last reference to the Qumanu occurs in AfO 18 350:22-23 (= Grayson ARI 2 26 §94). Here we read: *māt Lullume ana siḥirtiša Salua Qumenu Katmuḥi u Alzi ana pāt gimrīšunu lū akšud*, "The land of the Lullumu in its entirety, Salua, Qumenu, Katmuḥu, and Alzu, as far as all their borders I indeed conquered." In this text the ancient gentilic Lullumu seems to designate the region in which four political powers are situated. Since in the late second millennium the gentilics Lullumu (=Lullubu) and Qutû/Gutium were employed as synonyms, it is not surprising that the Qumanu appear in this passage in the land of Lullumu and in LKA 63 in the land of Qutû/Gutium. Alternatively, Lullumu is the land adjacent to the others, to the south-east. It is not clear to which of the two Qumanu campaigns this text refers, if in fact there were two, but it is possible that both are intended.

There are thus two distinct narrative versions of campaigns involving Qumanu. If there were actually two campaigns, the first took place in the fifth year and is described in detail in the annals and in brief in the summary inscription K.2806. The other would have occurred in an unknown year later in Tiglath-pileser's reign—Hayim Tadmor suggests between the fifth and tenth years—and is summarized in K.2807. Either or both of them may be referred to in AfO 18 350:22-23. If there was only one

campaign, it was then reported in two independent versions: one represented by the annals and K.2806 and one by K.2807. The evidence discussed here confirms that the account in the annals and K.2806 is closest to what is described in LKA 63.

Muṣru

5. The only reference to the Muṣru in the annals is in the record of the fifth year (AKA 75 v 67, 70, 74, 83, 91 = Grayson ARI 2 §§36-37). Although they are mentioned before the Qumanu in this annalistic passage, they do not appear in the summary version in K.2806, discussed above.

Ḫabḫu

6. The Ḫabḫu are mentioned once in the annals. In the king's third campaign (second year), he marched to the territory of Sugu in the land of Ḫabḫu (AKA 60 iv 8 = Grayson ARI 2 §27). In two other royal inscriptions (AfO 18 349:16 = Grayson ARI 2 §91 and Lehmann-Haupt Materialien 15:7 = Grayson ARI 2 §17), the king is said to conquer the land of Ḫabḫu. In both of these texts Ḫabḫu appears associated with places in the land of Nairi. According to two other passages, some of the king's hunting expeditions were carried out on the other side of the land of Ḫabḫu (AfO 18 352:70 = Grayson ARI 2 §§103, 132). Most significantly, K.2807, discussed above, mentions cities of Ḫabḫu which the king destroyed in the course of what we assume to have been his second campaign against the Qumanu.

7. An administrative account dated to the 26th of Kalmartu in the eponym of Ikkaru tells of a *ši-kin te₄-me ša* KUR *Ḫa[b-ḫi]* (VAS 19 43:6) and KUR *ḫab-ḫa-ja-e* (line 9) involved in a transfer of bronze bowls. This text indicates that Assyrian administration was well-established in the Ḫabḫu region.

Qutû

8. The Qutû, originally known as Gutium, are not mentioned in any of Tiglath-pileser's other inscriptions, although the Lullumu, found in the summary inscription AfO 18 350:22-23 discussed under (4) above, is a synonym. Juxtapositions of Muṣru and Qumanu with Qutû are found in the inscriptions of earlier Assyrian monarchs.²⁶

26. Shalmaneser I titles himself *kāšid māt Subarī Lullumī u Qutī muṣekniš māt Muṣri* (Borger Einleitung 49:3). Tukulti-Ninurta I reports [*ina šurri š*]arrūtīja ana māt Uq[umeni lū]

LKA 63 clearly is closer to the annalistic account of the Mušru-Qumanu war than it is to the abridged account of that war found in K.2806. We have already noted the association of Qumanu and Ḥabḥu in a single campaign mentioned in K.2807. In AfO 18 350:22-23, we found Qumanu together with Lullumu, a synonym for Qutū.

Theological Aspects

LKA 63 has considerably more theological detail than do the parallel accounts in the royal inscriptions. The only god mentioned in the annals is Aššur (AKA 75 v 7-68), who commands the king to conquer Mušru. Aššur not only encourages the king through an oracle (*ina tukulti Aššur*, AKA 80 vi 22) to attack the Qumanian royal city Kipšuna, but also is given credit for the conquest in certain inscriptions which, according to the annals, were inscribed on several bronze lightning bolts and deposited in a brick building erected at the ruins of the fortified city Ḫunusa (*kišitti mātāti ša ina ilīja* (var. ^a*Aššur*) *bēlīja akšudu . . . ina muḥḥi alṭur*, "I inscribed on them (a description of) the conquest of the lands which with my god (var. Aššur) my lord I conquered," AKA 79 vi 15-20). The bronze lightning bolts displayed at Ḫunusa may actually have been connected with Addu, whose symbol was the *birqu*,²⁷ but this association seems to have been suppressed or glossed over by the annalist.²⁸

In comparison to the annals, the author of the poetic recital waxes enthusiastic in his description of divine involvement in the war. The pale allusions to divination in stereotyped language are replaced by an elaborate portrayal of a heavenly scene in which Enlil, the divine assembly, and Aššur participate (LKA 63:19'-29'). This is a common motif in Babylonian literary texts as well as in historiographic writings.

Divine Escort

Divine assistance in the actual fighting is only hinted at in the annals, whereas LKA 63 elaborates this point. An example can be seen in rev. 1-5,

allik šiḫirti māt Qutē kīma til abūbi [lušēmi] (Weidner Tn. 2 ii 14-17) and further on in the same campaign *māt Qutī rapalta apīl . . . Abulī . [. . . šar māt] Uqumenī gunnī mālikīšu qātī ikšud* (Weidner Tn. 2 ii 40-iii 2). In several places he calls himself *nē'ir māt Uqumanī . . . dā'is . . . ummāndāt Qutī* (Weidner Tn. 13 6:4-7, 25 14:5-9) or *dā'is [māt Uqu]manī . . . [nē'ir mālikī] ša Qutī* (Weidner Tn. 9 3:6-9, 33 20:2-3).

27. In an unpublished god-list Adad is said to have a vizier called Birqu; see W. G. Lambert, "Old Testament Mythology in its Near Eastern Context," *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum* 40 (1988) 137.

28. See the discussion below.

where Aššur's preparations for battle are particularized. Such a mythological motif resembles, for instance, Enūma eliš IV 35-68, in which Marduk equips himself in preparation for meeting Tiamat in battle.

In the continuation of the text the author resorts to the traditional poetic topos of the divine escort which would accompany kings into battle. Much of the material related to this topos was gathered and studied recently by T. W. Mann.²⁹ The so-called "vanguard motif" appears frequently in Assyrian royal inscriptions and in more detailed expression in several literary texts such as Enūma eliš, the Erra Epic, and, above all, the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic. We can augment the admittedly incomplete collection of texts adduced by Mann with passages from four historical poems of various backgrounds:

1. An Old Babylonian epic about Naram-Sin (AfO 13 46ff.):

obv. ii 2-7

Narām-Sin urḥašu illakma

il mātim illaku ištīšu

immaḥra Ilab pālil urḥim

5. *iwwarka Zababa eddam qarnīn*

šurin Annunīti u Šilaba kilal kilalal

imittam u šuwīlam qarnam qarna'am

rev. v 1-5

birbirrūka girri rigimka addum

kīma nēšimmi nā'irim tabašši

bašmummi pīka anzūm šuprāka

Irnina ištīka illak

5. *la tišu šānini ša kīka mannum*

obv. ii 2-7

Naram-Sin proceeds on his way.

The God of the Land - they (the gods) go with him.

In front Ilaba, the pathfinder.

5. Behind Zababa, the sharp-horned one.

The emblems of Annunītum and Ši-labba, two by two,
right and left, horn by horn.

29. T. W. Mann, Divine Presence and Guidance in Israelite Traditions: The Typology of Exaltation, The Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies (Baltimore, 1977) pp. 30-73.

rev. v 1-5

“Your luminosity is fire, your voice is that of the thunderstorm.

You become like a raging lion.

Your mouth is a horned snake, your nails are (those of) the Anzu-bird.

Irnina walks beside you.

5. You have no equal. Who is like you?”

In this passage Naram-Sin is both accompanied by gods and credited with divine attributes. The impression is given that the king is not only surrounded by gods, but is in fact a full-fledged equal in the company.

2. In the royal hymn Šulgi D³⁰ the king’s expedition is pictured in these terms:

297. a-a-⁴nanna zà-zi-da-ni-na mu-un-di[?]-x-x-x . . .

302. sún-zi zà-g[ù]b-bu-ni-a ba-x-x-[x]

305. ⁴nin-g[iš-zid-da[?] . . .] . . .

310. ⁴nin-a-zu [. . .] x [. . .] .x.x.

317. nu-dí-mu[d] en-gal eridu^k[i-ga] . . .

Father Nanna on his right side, he . . . with him . . .

Sunzi, on his left side, he . . . with him[?] . . .

Ning[izzida . . .]

Ninazu [. . .]

Nudimmud, the great lord of Eridu, [. . .]

Each of these verses is followed by the identical refrain (lines 298, 303, 306, 311, and 318):

šul-gi sipa-zi-ki-en-gi-ra-da giri(?) -a ba-da-du

With Šulgi, the righteous shepherd of Sumer, he walks on the road.

3. In LKA 62, a folktale about a hunter/warrior king, probably Tiglath-pileser I,³¹ the hunter is described in lines 3-4:

[ša bajjāri]i ⁴Aššur tuklassu ⁴Adad rēšušu

alik ana panīšu ašarid ilāni Ninurta

[The hunter’s] encouragement is Aššur, Adad is his ally,

Going before him is the Leader of the gods, Ninurta.

30. J. Klein, Three Šulgi Hymns, Bar-Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures (Ramat Gan, 1981) pp. 82-83.

31. See E. Ebeling, “Ein Heldenlied auf Tiglathpileser I. und der Anfang einer neuen Version von ‘Ištars Höllenfahrt’ nach einer Schülertafel aus Assur,” Or NS 18 (1949) 35:3-4. See the discussion of this text in the Appendix, below.

4. In STT 43,³² a heroic poem inspired by Shalmaneser III's campaign to Urartu, the king is encouraged by the people of Assur prior to setting out on the venture:

¹*a-lik*¹ *be-lum* ¹LUGAL.MEŠ¹-*ni da-áš-x* [. . .]

⁴*Ninurta ina panīka lillik*

⁴*Girru [ina arkīka . . .]*

Go, lord of kings! [. . .]

May Nergal go before you

May Girra [. . . behind you]

Two additional passages come from the royal inscriptions themselves:

5. In the Samsuiluna C inscription³³ Zababa and Ištar promise the king:

79/80. *zà-zi-da-za ù-súb-en-dè-en*

in imnīka nillak

81. *lú gú mu-e-da-ab-dù-uš-a sag giz ba-ab-ra-ra-an-dè-en*

zā'irīka ninār

82/83. *lú erim-gál-la-zu-ne šu-za mi-ni-ib-si-g[e]-[e]n-d[è]-e[n]*

aḫbīka ana qāḫka numalla

We shall march at your side.

We shall smite your enemies.

We shall deliver your foes into your hand.

6. In Aššur-bēl-kala's account of his campaign to Urartu in his accession year (AfO 6 80 i 26-28 = Grayson ARI 2 §216) we read:

[ina] emūqi šīrāt[e ša Aššur bēlīja alik panīja

ina . . .] ša Ninur[a ā]lik imnīja

ina libbi qardi ša Ad[ad alik šumēl]īja

28. *narkabātī u ummānātēja a[dkī]*

[With] the elevated might [of Aššur, my lord, who goes before me,

With the . . .] of Ninurta, who goes at my right,

With the heroic heart of Ad[ad who goes at my l]eft,

I mus[tered] my chariots and my troops.

We should note that the appearance of the "vanguard motif" in all these passages somewhat weakens Mann's attempt to associate its employment with particular historical turning points.³⁴

32. Lambert, AnSt 11 (1961) 150:29; see now Livingstone Court Poetry p. 45 no. 17:28-30.

33. RA 63 (1969) 35.

34. See, for instance, Mann Divine Presence pp. 50-51.

Battle Standard

To the mythological texts referred to by Mann we should add Angim, where Ninurta's retinue is sketched in lines 65-68³⁵:

ud-an-né dingir igi-tab-tab
 lugal-an-bad-rá en su₁₁(!?) igi-še mu-na-du :
 [. . . *ina ma*] *bra illa*[k]
 ní kur-kur-r[a (^d)] lugal-kur-dúb
 en-^dNinurta-k[e₄(?)] egir-a-né nam-mi-in-[ús]
 'ana/ša¹ be-¹li x x x x x¹-ti a[r-ka/ki iradd]i³u

Udanne, the all-seeing god, and
 Lugalbadra, the bearded lord(?), go before him, and
 The awesome one of the "mountains," Lugalkurdub,
 The [. . .] of lord Ninurta, follows behind him.

This reference brings us to the "realia" behind the mythological scenes depicted in the texts of various types. Lugalkurdub is not only a well-known member of Ninurta's retinue, but was also a well-known weapon and emblem of Ninurta. J. S. Cooper describes the scene as one in which Ninurta sets forth preceded and followed by his weapons and emblems.³⁶ It has long been assumed that references in Mesopotamian texts to gods accompanying the kings into battle are in reality allusions to the divine standards which kings would carry with them on their campaigns.³⁷ If the references to divine partners in battle do in fact have their background in the custom of bringing divine standards onto the battlefield, as is certainly suggested by the Naram-Sin text and the Angim passage cited here, we may find in LKA 63 the needed explanation for the bronze *birqu*-lightning bolts³⁸ set up in Hunusa and described in Tiglath-pileser's annals (AKA 79 vi 15-19). As we will see below, Adad was a major partner in Tiglath-pileser's divine escort, and the king was intimately identified with him. According to the poetic text, Adad played a decisive role in the battle, and following the interpretive line of identifying references to gods with the presence of their emblems, we may surmise that Adad's standard, the *birqu* was present on the field of battle. This standard was reproduced and installed in the baked-brick structures erected at the devastated site of

35. Jerrold S. Cooper, The Return of Ninurta to Nippur: an-gim dim₂-ma, AnOr 52 (Rome, 1978) 64:65-68.

36. Cooper An-gim p. 111.

37. Mann Divine Presence pp. 50-51, in reference to the passages adduced in his study.

38. Cf. CAD s.v. *birqu*; RIA 3 s.v. "Göttersymbol."

Ḫunusa. That Adad is not mentioned in the annals shows the compiler's preference for Aššur as the major power behind this particular victory. Leaving behind the symbol of the victorious god has a later analogue in an incident described by Sargon II of Assyria. He reports³⁹ the conquest of Ḫarḫār and its reestablishment under the new name Kār-Šarrukīn. After renaming the city, he reports *kakki Aššur bēlīja ina libbi ušēšib*. Sennacherib⁴⁰ reports in a like manner that after reestablishing Illubru *kakki Aššur bēlīja qerebšu ušarme*.

Hierarchy of the Gods

A seemingly unremarkable but, in fact, somewhat exceptional feature of LKA 63 is the composition of the king's divine escort as described in rev. 6-10. Groups of gods are mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions of various types and in various contexts. They occur most frequently in the royal titulary, but can be found as well in the blessing and curse formulae which conclude the royal inscriptions, in descriptions of divine battle retinues, and in lists of temples built by the king. This is not the place to engage in a detailed study of these lists and the changing theological or political platforms underlying the variations which occur in them from time to time.⁴¹ Nonetheless, a preliminary survey concentrating on the Assyrian inscriptions up to the time of Tiglath-pileser I lets us try to place the register of deities in LKA 63 into its proper context and to suggest reasons for certain peculiarities which it displays.

A "fixed" roster of gods seems to start crystallizing in the inscriptions of Adad-nerari I. We find in his inscriptions two detailed god lists: one in the context of his battle entourage against the city of Taidu⁴² and one in the curse formulae concluding the same text.⁴³

<i>Escort</i>	Aššur	<i>Curses</i>	Aššur
	An		An
	Enlil		Enlil
	Ea		Ea
	Sin		

39. Winckler Sargon p. 108:62ff.

40. Borger BAL³ 1 80 v 26.

41. See the studies of the political and theological ramifications of changes in god-lists in W. G. Lambert, "Shalmaneser in Ararat," *AnSt* 11 (1961) 145ff.; H. Tadmor, "Sin of Sargon" (in Hebrew), *Eretz-Israel* 5 (1958) 150-62.

42. AfO 5 (1928-29) 90:24-29 = Grayson ARI 1 §393.

43. AfO 5 (1928-29) 91:79-95 = Grayson ARI 1 §387.

	Ninmaḫ
	Igigi
	Anunnaki
Šamaš	
Adad	Adad
Ištar	Ištar
Nergal	
	Adad

Very similar enumerations appear in the divine escort description in the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic and, significantly, in the titulary of a Tukulti-Ninurta royal inscription that contains an account of his campaign against Kaštiliaš⁴⁴:

<i>Epic</i>	Aššur	<i>Royal inscription</i>	Aššur Šamaš	<i>Karduniaš campaign</i>	Aššur
	Enlil		Enlil		Enlil
	Anu		An		
			Ea		
	Sin		Sin		
	Adad		Adad		
	Šamaš				Šamaš
	Ninurta		Ninurta		
	Ištar		Ištar		Ištar

These same gods appear again in the prayer at the beginning of the annals of Tiglath-pileser I (AKA 27-31 i 1-27):

Aššur
Enlil
Sin
Šamaš
Adad
Ninurta
Ištar

Similar lists are found in the later inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta II, Assurnasirpal II, etc.

Taking all these lists together, we find a common nucleus of certain gods appearing in each enumeration in the same order: Aššur, Enlil, Adad, Ninurta, and Ištar. Other gods, especially An, Ea, Sin, and Šamaš, are inserted at varying positions within the roster. Šamaš is frequently placed

44. Weidner Tn. p. 26 16 i 1-22 = Grayson ARI 1 §772. Note also the escort topos in the same text, iii 56-58.

with Adad, either before or after him. Goddesses, when they are mentioned, are usually added immediately before Ištar.

Two other lists, both from the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I, contain a slight variation with significance for the list in LKA 63. One is a list of eight gods whose symbols were placed in the Aššur temple built in Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta.⁴⁵ The other is found in the prayer KAR 128:

<i>Symbols</i>	Aššur	<i>Prayer</i>	Aššur
			Enlil
	Adad		Šamaš
	Šamaš		Adad
	Ninurta		Ninurta
	Nusku		Nusku
	Nergal		
	Sibitti		
			Amurru
			Ninlil
			Šerua
			Tašmetu
	Ištar		<i>Ištarāt šamāmi</i>
			Anu
			Ea

The gods Aššur, (Enlil), Adad, Ninurta, and Ištar still appear in the “canonical” order in these two lists. However, Nusku, a god of the night associated with and related to Sin, seems to have replaced Sin and in both texts is paired with Ninurta. Only later, in the inscriptions of Aššurnasirpal II do both Sin and Nusku appear together. There, too, Nusku is paired with Ninurta.

We turn now to the god list in LKA 63, which contains:

(Aššur)
 Enlil
 Ištar
 Ninurta
 Nusku
 Adad
 (Aššur)

Comparing this list with all those presented above, we get the impression that it is derived from a subsidiary branch of the main tradition. The changes from the “canonical” list are at first bewildering but they could be

45. Weidner Tn. p. 24 no. 15 rev. 43-44.

explained. Aššur appears before and after the god list, but not in its immediate context. His appearance after the description of Tiglath-pileser's rampage through enemy lands may be seen as a crescendo: the most important god was saved to be named last. Alternatively, the king's own name, Tukulti-apil-Ešarra, which comes immediately before Enlil may in fact be a veiled allusion to Aššur, the first-born of the Ešarra temple. Adad is placed last because of some special relationship between him and the king, discussed below. Nusku replaces Sin and is coupled with Ninurta, reflecting the alternate tradition found in the two lists from the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I just mentioned. Since the "sexist" pattern of the god lists was broken by the author's desire to juxtapose Adad and the king, Ištar could be given her expected place nearer the head of the (Assyrian) pantheon, in the company of (Aššur and) Enlil. This arrangement has precedents in short lists of two or three gods found in the titularies of Ilu-šuma, Erišum, Šamši-Adad I, Shalmaneser I, and Tukulti-Ninurta I.

Comparison of the god list in LKA 63 with similar rosters in other Assyrian inscriptions thus shows that it is rooted in a subsidiary branch of the main tradition. Its very distorted form can be explained by literary and theological considerations peculiar to the text itself. The close relationship between the god list in this composition and the god lists in texts from the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I might be understood within the overall context of other similarities between this inscription and the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic.

Apotheosis of Tiglath-pileser I

One last way in which LKA 63 embellishes an idea only vaguely presented in the annals is in its view of the divine nature of the king.⁴⁶ According to the annals, the clans who did not submit to the king are called "rebels" who did not submit to Aššur. The blurring of the border between the person of king and divinity is more blatant in the poem. We find the blending of the two expressed both in the structure of the text and in its language. In particular, there are two points in which Tiglath-pileser functions as a deity with supranatural powers.

First, in the descriptions of the divine retinue we find that the gods Ištar, Ninurta, Nusku, and Adad go before the king and at his left and right sides. We actually expect that the subject of rev. 11, which describes the rear position, will be another god. However, as was indicated above, it is

46. R. Labat, *Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne* (Paris, 1939) pp. 259ff.

Tiglath-pileser himself who is the subject of this verb.⁴⁷ He is thus fully integrated into the divine military march. However, in rev. 11ff. the king's activities are described in terms meant to associate his attributes with those of Adad, a relationship that seems to be implied also in the Naram-Sin poem cited earlier.⁴⁸ When Adad is said to devastate the enemy, the word employed is *irabḥiṣ*, of which the primary meaning is "to wash away." In LKA 63 rev. 12, Tiglath-pileser is said to "rain down" (*uṣaznan*) weapons and in the next line he "daily" (*ūmišam*) inflicts devastation (*riḥilta*). The word *ūmišam* may be a play on *ūmu*, "storm," which appears also in obv. 17'. The same root connects *riḥilta* and *irabḥiṣ*. In rev. 13 the king howls (*šitmur*), also a trait of Adad.⁴⁹ The destruction of grain, referred to in rev. 16, is also a curse associated with Adad.⁵⁰ According to rev. 18 the king brings a Deluge (*abūbu*) upon the mountainous terrain. In all of these passages the king is portrayed in terms intimately identified with the weather god Adad.⁵¹

Second, in rev. 19 the king casts *puluḥtu* on the enemy while in rev. 21 *melammu* is heaped upon their faces. Now, in line 19 the king is clearly the subject, but in line 21 the subject is the *melammu* itself. The divine attribute of radiance in this line is equally one of the king and of Aššur. Just as the king shared "raining down" and "washing away" with Adad, he shares *puluḥtu* and *melammu* with Aššur. Furthermore, as in the annals, the defeat of the enemies is ascribed to Aššur, and the declaration to this effect comes at the conclusion of the description of the king's rampage.

We should point out that the association of the Assyrian king with various gods, and especially Adad, is not unique to this poem but may be found in numerous royal inscriptions, including the annals of Tiglath-pileser I. However, this idea is more developed in LKA 63 than it is in the prose royal inscriptions.

47. There is a certain ambiguity in this passage. This is reminiscent of a similar phenomenon in the title of Tukulti-Ninurta I pointed out by A. K. Grayson, "The Early Development of the Assyrian Monarchy," UF 3 (1971) 316.

48. In this poem Naram-Sin's shout is *addum* (AfO 13 46 rev. 1, cited above).

49. Compare *ūtamar kīma Adad*, LKA 66:22, and the personal name *Adad-mušammer*, Iraq 12 198a.

50. Compare [*Adad gugal*] *šamē u [eršetim līr]ḥiṣsuma [. . . aj] uṣabḥi ašnan*, "May Adad, the dike warden of the heavens and earth, devastate him . . . may he not enable grain to grow" (BBSt 9 ii 11, restoration by B. Landsberger in his unpublished notes on the text; perhaps we should complete the rest of the passage *ina qerbetišu/eršetišu*); see also *ašnan Adad irabḥiṣ*, "Adad will devastate the grain" (Labat Calendrier §88:2).

51. For comparisons of other kings with Adad in their royal inscriptions, see Labat *Caractère religieux* p. 283.

LKA 63 leaves us with the impression that the king is considered to be inseparable from the divine company with which he marches and is imbued with divine qualities, particularly those of Aššur and Adad. We may thus see in this poem a propagandistic message which would be termed the apotheosis of Tiglath-pileser.⁵²

Literary Genre and Sitz-im-Leben

Having investigated the literary structure, thematic content, historical background, and theological aspects of LKA 63, we must now place it in its broader literary and functional contexts. In the following discussion we will consider LKA 63 to be a nearly complete text written on a single tablet of which more than half exists. This working hypothesis is justified by the fact that the story told is logically coherent and complete (aggression—reaction—defeat of the aggressor) and parallels in its extent the events related in a well-defined episode in the annals.

Literary Genre

Various obstacles hinder any attempt to attribute LKA 63 to a literary genre. On the one hand, the extant manuscript has neither beginning nor end and thus no colophon informing us of the ancient classification or identification of the text. Furthermore, the most important elements of overall formal structure and indications of genre are normally located in the beginning and end of a text, and the purpose for which the texts were written is usually revealed at the conclusion of the tablet. Consequently our discussion must depend on secondary rather than primary evidence. Likewise we can only conjecture about the possible length of the text, a most critical feature in the analysis of hymns and epics.

In our truncated text we have noted the following features: (1) poetic form containing narrative and speech; (2) historical content relating to one campaign conducted by the king; (3) tendentious accusation of enemies and presentation of the king's response as a deserved "measure for measure" punishment of enemy incitement; and (4) theological perspective in which the king is almost but not quite deified. Our next step is to discern whether these features occur together in other Assyrian texts. Based on these secondary criteria, especially the second, the following texts are comparable:

52. See E. Cassin, *La splendeur divine* (Paris, 1968) p. 73.

1. Adad-nerari I Epic,⁵³ concerns his battle with Nazi-maruttaš;
2. Tukulti-Ninurta I Epic,⁵⁴ concerns his battle with Kaštiliaš IV;
- 2a. K.6007,⁵⁵ a "Hymn to Aššur and Tukulti-Ninurta I," possibly the lost beginning of the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic;
3. LKA 62,⁵⁶ Allegorical Description of Tiglath-pileser I's campaign to Murattaš and Saradauš;
4. LKA 64,⁵⁷ "Hymn to Enlil and Aššurnasirpal II," concerns his Western Campaign to the Lebanon and Carchemish;
5. STT 43,⁵⁸ "Shalmaneser in Ararat," concerns Shalmaneser III's campaign to Urartu;
6. STT 366,⁵⁹ an extract from "An Assyrian king and Nā'id-Sihu," concerns an unknown historical event.

Over and above the features outlined here, these texts have other common elements: (a) linguistic similarities beyond those required by their similar subject matter, such as use of the hymnic-epic dialect and (b) Babylonian poetics with Assyrian orthography, especially the use of certain lexemes. Of particular significance among the latter is *šurruḫu*, for which we might note as examples *ušarraḫ ilašu* (in the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic), *ušarraḫ tanatti Aššur* (in K.6007), and *lušarriḫ ilüssu* (LKA 64).

Using a sample of six texts we will analyze the formal features which are not present in LKA 63 as it is currently preserved. Our ultimate aim is to find a model or models which may be used to complete the missing portions in our text. The features in question are: (a) length of composition, (b) prologue or incipit, (c) epilogue, and (d) colophon.

In terms of length, the six compositions are:

—Adad-nerari Epic: incomplete. The text is known from fragmentary manuscripts of which one is a four-column tablet with an incipit of a second tablet, indicating a composition that extended over at least two tablets.

—Tukulti-Ninurta Epic: incomplete. The text is preserved in fragmentary manuscripts of a six-column text of probably 750 lines; the text seems complete on one tablet.

53. For bibliography see Hecker Epik p. 37.

54. Hecker Epik p. 37.

55. See Borger Einleitung p. 73.

56. See Ebeling, Or NS 18 (1949) 30-39, and the Appendix, below.

57. Unedited, see notes in Schramm Einleitung 2 58ff., passim.

58. See Lambert, AnSt 11 (1961) 144-58.

59. See most recently the discussion by K. Deller, "STT 366: Deutungsversuch 1982," Assur 3 (1983) 139-53. [See now Livingstone Court Poetry p. 120 n. 50.]

—LKA 62: complete. The text consists of a one-column tablet of 31 lines of verse.

—LKA 64: complete. The text is a one-column tablet with 36 lines of text, which may represent 22(?) lines of verse.

—STT 43: complete. It is a one-column tablet with 65 lines of text.

—STT 366: incomplete. The text is an eight-line extract.

Clearly, the epics of Adad-nerari and Tukulti-Ninurta are of far greater length than the hymns or psalms. Like the latter, LKA 63 is a one-column tablet which most likely did not extend beyond the one tablet. With its probable length of 75-100 lines, it exceeds the longest of the other samples, the short narrative poem of Shalmaneser in Ararat (STT 43), but it does fall within the same general range of magnitude.

Prologues are extant in some of the texts, and take the form described:

—Adad-nerari Epic: stanza of eight lines describing Adad-nerari using a titulary composed of rare royal epithets not fully resembling those of the royal inscriptions;

—K.6007: fragmentary hymn to Aššur and Tukulti-Ninurta;

—LKA 62: royal titulary, in two couplets of which the first describes the king and the second the divine escort;

—LKA 64: hymn consisting of two lines dedicated to Aššur and two to Aššurnasirpal;

—STT 43: the first four lines of the fragmentary text describe Aššur, Ištar, Šamaš, and Shalmaneser, respectively.

On the basis of this survey we can postulate a hymnal prologue for our text in which two or more lines praised a deity or deities and two or more lines the king. Alternatively, the text may have begun with a royal titulary. The only composition that has no mention of the divine in the prologue is the Adad-nerari Epic.

Epilogues are extant in even fewer compositions, in these forms:

—Tukulti-Ninurta Epic: a fragmentary section mentions dedication of spoils of war, divine praise of Tukulti-Ninurta, Tukulti-Ninurta's adulation of the gods, and, apparently, curses called down on whosoever opposes the royal will;

—LKA 62 has a Babylonian-like epilogue in which the narrator addresses his audience in the first person, recommending that this hymnal song in praise of Aššur be handed down to future generations;

—LKA 64 mentions the dedication of booty (cedar beams?) to temples and invokes divine blessing on the king;

—STT 43 refers to a royal celebration of ritual in temple and divine blessing for the king.

The blessing in LKA 62, the text most contemporary with LKA 63, echoes epics such as the Erra Epic and the exhortations to future generations found at the end of certain poetic works. The blessing invoked for the king at the end of hymns to gods is well-known from the time of the first Akkadian divine hymns, and is found in the majority of the cases listed. We would therefore expect our text also to end with a benediction for the king. We can also expect that such a blessing would have been preceded by the record of some dedication of spoils of war to the gods who participated in the victory.

Colophons are rare in the early periods and only in the first millennium texts do they become frequent. Out of the six texts in our sample only two, the Adad-nerari Epic and LKA 64 have partial colophons. That of the Adad-nerari Epic is an incipit to tablet II(?), while LKA 64 reports that [ana] pī PN *šaṭir*. Since this last text dates to the first millennium, we would not expect LKA 63 to have a colophon even if the end of the tablet were preserved.

To sum up, since LKA 63 lacks the epic length, it most probably is not in the tradition of the long Assyrian military historical epics. More likely it belongs to another, less known, category of texts which (a) are shorter than the epics, (b) have a prologue containing a hymn to the gods as well as to the king, (c) have a narrative section dealing with one heroic military feat of the Assyrian king, and (d) conclude with an epilogue recording a dedication to the gods and a blessing on the king.

To what genre does this set of texts belong? This question has been variously answered by modern scholars, particularly in relation to LKA 63. Ebeling, who published this text,⁶⁰ and Borger⁶¹ use the term “Lied, Loblied,” although Borger has also called it a “Hymnus.”⁶² W. G. Lambert describes it as a “hymn of praise”⁶³ and A. K. Grayson terms it a “psalm in praise of the king.”⁶⁴ According to J. J. Finkelstein, “they [LKA 63 and 64] bear far closer relationship to religious psalmody and epic associated with the gods, and to the ancient Sumerian hymns to kings than they do to the Epic of Tukulti-Ninurta.”⁶⁵

Whether the relationship Finkelstein refers to is just in form and content or whether there is some lineal descent is impossible to judge. As pointed

60. Ebeling LKA p. x.

61. Borger Einleitung p. 112.

62. Grayson ARI 1 106.

63. Lambert, AnSt 11 (1961) 143.

64. Grayson ARI 2 3.

65. In Lasswell et al., Propaganda and Communication p. 72.

out by Klein in his review of the genre of royal hymns,⁶⁶ only the Ur III hymns have narrative content. However, such narrative content is found in all types of royal hymns: divine hymns with reference to the king, royal hymns addressed to the king or glorifying him, and self-laudatory royal hymns. It is to be noted that the narrative content in these hymns may be either historical or religious.

There may be one exception to the rule that the narrative section referring to specific historical events disappears in royal hymns after the Ur III period. Not included in Klein's collection of 125 compositions is the controversial text TIM 9 41, which seems to occupy a pivotal position between the Ur III royal hymns and the Assyrian hymns reviewed here. As von Soden had already put it, "In Wirklichkeit liegt aber das vorläufig m.W. älteste Beispiel eines akkadischen Götterliedes mit Fürbitte für Gungunum, der in Z. 21 und 24 genannt ist, vor; der Name des angerufenen Gottes ist abgebrochen."⁶⁷ The text seems to have a prologue containing an introduction by the narrator ("let me recount . . ."), a narrative section dealing with a military expedition against the Didnu (Tidnum) nomads, and an epilogue containing a blessing for the king.⁶⁸

Additional evidence that these narrative hymns as well as royal hymns in general did not disappear at the end of the Old Babylonian period comes from the Hymnen or Liederkatalog (KAR 158) from Assur, from the Library of Tiglath-pileser I.⁶⁹ This catalogue contains references to twelve Akkadian royal hymns (*zamar šarri*) and to five heroic songs (*qurdu*). In addition, it mentions two interesting titles of *gangiṭtu*-songs: *dā'īš tubqāti āšu kalu ālāni*, "trampler of the corners (of the world), who throws all the cities into confusion" and *gašra ila šarra luzzamur ila dapna*, "let me sing of the strong god, the royal one, the heroic god" (KAR 158 rev. iii 13-14). Thus LKA 63 may be the single survivor now known of an original large group of literary compositions, some already traditional and some newly composed at the period of Tiglath-pileser I.

Sitz-im-Leben

The functional setting of this poem, its *Sitz-im-Leben*, is difficult to determine. As is the case with most pieces of Akkadian literature, we have

66. Klein *Three Šulgi Hymns* pp. 47-49; and *The Royal Hymns of Šulgi King of Ur: Man's Quest for Immortal Fame*, TAPS 71/7 (Philadelphia, 1981) 8b.

67. Review of van Dijk, TIM 9, in ZA 67 (1977) 277.

68. B. Groneberg and H. Hunger, review of van Dijk, TIM 9, in JAOS 98 (1978) 522.

69. For the latest discussion of the date of this text, see J. A. Black, "Babylonian Ballads: A New Genre," JAOS 103 (1983) 25 n. 3.

here no liturgical notations nor is there any recognizable reference to this composition in the first millennium liturgical calendars. What we know is that our text is an original composition praising the king, Aššur's appointee on earth, and his military prowess. Since it is not written in the first person, it can be neither a report nor a letter to the gods.

Because the text's theological message stresses the apotheosis of Tiglath-pileser I, we must assume that that is the message which this hymn was intended to convey to an audience, heralding it through the realm. Grayson has pointed out the special significance of the reign of Tiglath-pileser I for the development of the elevated position of the monarch and commented on the role Assyrian literature played in that development.⁷⁰ Royal encouragement of belles lettres reached its apogee in the Middle Assyrian epoch with the formation of an impressive library by Tiglath-pileser I. In return for royal patronage, the majesty of the Assyrian sovereign was enhanced by the literati.

For the specific circumstances which caused LKA 63 to be composed we may suggest two possibilities. First, we know of the statue of Tiglath-pileser, mentioned in the Götteraddressbuch (i 12), which stood in the *bīt papāhi* of the Ešarra, the temple of Aššur.⁷¹ The hymn might well have been composed to mark the solemn occasion of its introduction into the sanctuary. It might also have been composed to celebrate the triumphal return of the king from the war, or as part of the victory celebration when the booty was dedicated to the god Aššur. Neither of these possibilities is provable, nor are they mutually exclusive. Indeed, together they could lead to the conclusion that the statue was dedicated to the god during Tiglath-pileser I's sixth year, at which time the first edition of the annals was composed. Such a confluence in a single regnal year of scribal and cultic activities—annals, hymns, and a statue dedication—would be reminiscent of, though not entirely identical with, what has been postulated for the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods by W. W. Hallo, in whose opinion royal year names, hymns, and statues were instituted simultaneously.⁷² This suggestion of events surrounding the composition of LKA 63 is obviously quite speculative, and can be confirmed only by studies of other, similar documents.

70. UF 3 (1971) 319.

71. For the latest edition of this text see B. Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel 2*, *Studia Pohl Series Maior* 10/2 (Rome, 1981) T146 i 12.

72. "The Cultic Setting of Sumerian Poetry," in *CRRAI* 17 (Brussels, 1970) 116-21.

APPENDIX: LKA 62

Our study of LKA 63 has interesting implications for another text in the same corpus, LKA 62. This text was first published by Ebeling as "Ein Heldenlied auf Tiglath-pileser I."⁷³ It is a fascinating and unusual allegorical tale of an Assyrian king fighting his enemies in the guise of a hunter dealing with an insolent pack of wild asses. The manuscript seems to be a school exercise; the part of the tablet not occupied by the hunter fable is given over to a version of "Ištar's Descent to the Netherworld."

Ebeling's attribution of this text to Tiglath-pileser I was based on writing, style and, most important for us, an unspecified "stilistische Verwandtschaft mit dem unpublizierten Gedicht VAT 9940, das Helden-taten des genannten Königs behandelt"; he later published VAT 9940 as LKA 63. Crucial for the connection with Tiglath-pileser in general and with his campaign against Murattāš and Saradauš in particular was the striking similarity between rev. 1-2, *ḥarrān šelalti ūme irtedi* [. . .] *adu la Šamaš napāḫu ibbīrušunu anqullu*, and the statement in the annals about the campaign (AKA 58 iii 100-101): *adi šelalti ūme ša Šamaš napāḫi akšud*.

Despite Ebeling's arguments in favor of identifying the unnamed hunter with Tiglath-pileser I, doubts have been raised. Borger wrote, "Ob das . . . Lied wirklich ein 'Heldenlied auf Tiglath-pileser I' ist, ist mir doch recht zweifelhaft."⁷⁴ Borger did not substantiate his scepticism, but his verdict seems to have been accepted without further comment by Grayson⁷⁵ and Finkelstein, who also had nothing more to say on the matter.⁷⁶ Recently Cogan cited Ebeling's position, although he does not say why he preferred Ebeling's stand to that of Borger and Finkelstein, of which he certainly was aware.⁷⁷

Ebeling based his attribution of LKA 62 to Tiglath-pileser I on unspecified stylistic affinities with LKA 63. The present occasion gives us the optimum opportunity for testing Ebeling's suggestion, by examining what seem to be similarities in thematic structure and language. We will first list what may be taken as similarities and then ask what, if anything, may be the significance of these similarities.

73. Or NS 18 (1949) 30ff.

74. Borger Einleitung p. 112 i.

75. Grayson ARI 23 n. 15. Note, however, that in his reference to LKA 62 in his article in UF 3 (1971) 319 n. 55 he alludes to the possibility that LKA 62 is related to Tiglath-pileser I.

76. In Lasswell et al (eds.), *Propaganda and Communication* p. 102 n. 55.

77. "Ripping Open Pregnant Women' in Light of an Assyrian Analogue," JAOS 103 (1983) 755-57 and 755 n. 5; Cogan's study is not particularly concerned or affected by the background of LKA 62.

LKA 62 commences with a two-line description of a hunter. The active participles found in this couplet (*dā-iš, dāliḫi*) give it the character of a titulary. This titulary continues in lines 3-4, with a depiction of the gods who assist the king. This section parallels accounts of divine selection of kings that are often integrated into the titularies of Assyrian royal inscriptions. In addition these two lines contain the motif of the divine escort found in LKA 63 rev. 6ff., discussed more fully above. As in LKA 63, Ninurta is here, too, referred to as *ašarid ilāni*.

The next couplet (lines 5-6) tells of the anonymous hunter's preparations for his chase of the asses. The language here, *ikappuda qabl[u] ana qīt napištišunu usaḥḥana paṭaršu*, is synonymous with that found in the first preserved triplet in LKA 63:8'-8', where the enemy's preparations for war are described: *ikpudu . . . tuqumta . . . išeḷū kakkēšunu*.

The following section, lines 7-14, describes the nature of the asses' insubordination, giving verbatim the words with which they instigated resistance to the king. This parallels the reference to spreading anarchy and *ṣaburtu* in LKA 63:17'-18'. In the course of their boasting the asses challenge the king's weapons: *šilāt qaltīšu e lillika šadā puḥḥurūti*, "let the shots from his bow (not?) come into the mountain together!" (line 14). The words *šadā puḥḥurūti* echo *ḥuršāni . . . puḥḥurū* of LKA 63:9'. The use of *tēšū* in line 9, in *imaḥḥarū tēšū*, "they resist confusion," may correspond to *ašitu* in *ašita šaknū*, "they spread anarchy" of LKA 63:17'.

Lines 15-20 tell of the king's verbal response to the asses' challenge. He hears the asses' words (*išme . . . siqiršunu*, lines 15-16), speaks to his own "heroes" (*ana qurādē ša eli šadi abuttu izaqqar*, line 18), and calls upon his heroes to slaughter them (*šagaltašunu niškun*, line 19). This parallels the description of the gods' words in response to the enemy's seditious talk in LKA 63:19' (. . . *siqiršunu*; compare also *išmūnimma . . . siqiršu* in line 25', *ḥulluq nakrē ūšā šaptēšu* in line 27', *lemnī ana suppuḫi pāšu iz-¹x(-x) in line 29'; *šagāš nakrē* in line 24', *šagāš zaḫḫara* in line 26', and *šagašātu* in line 28').*

Finally, there is a report of the destructive rampage through the enemy land. As in LKA 63 rev. 13, where Tiglath-pileser rages against the enemy (*šitmur šarru*), here too the king is compared with Adad: *iltamar kīma Adad Šamaš*, "he shouts like Adad (and?) Šamaš (line 22). The hunter harnessing his chariot finds a parallel in Tiglath-pileser's girding on his weapons—both actions are preparations for war. Cutting the enemies' throats (*unakkis kišādāti*, rev. 4) has its parallel in cutting down the Uqumanu's fruit (*unakkis inba*, LKA 63 rev. 18). In both texts the account of the war ends with a reference to Aššur (LKA 63 rev. 22, LKA 62 rev. 6).

The points of contact just listed are simultaneously structural and linguistic. Several other words and expressions are found in both compositions but occur there in different contexts. So we find *puluḫtu ša baḫḫāri elišunu la tabkat* (LKA 62:8) similar to *puluḫtu ittadi eli širīšun . . . melammu . . . ʔtarmu* (LKA 63 rev. 19, 21); *tēšū* (LKA 62:9, LKA 63 rev. 7); *šadi šaqūte* (LKA 62:11) similar to *šaqūte ālānīšunu* (LKA 63 rev. 15).

To sum up, both texts speak of (1) preparations for war; (2) verbal instigation of resistance by the enemy; (3) verbal response to the enemy; (4) preparations for battle; (5) destructive rampage; (6) submission to Aššur. Certain sections of the two texts which are parallel in subject also contain identical or similar words.

The list of parallels adduced is long and seemingly impressive. Nonetheless, it is not without problems, for in many places where there is a similarity there is also a difference. For instance, in LKA 63 it is the enemy who prepares for war while in LKA 62 it is the protagonist, the king. The synonymous or identical words that are used mean different things and are used in different contexts in the two texts. The “escort topos” is employed in different sections of the two texts.

The combination of similar thematic structures along with similar or identical turns of expression would indicate that despite the fable-like nature of one text and the realistic tenor of the other, the two are somehow related and most likely derive from the same scribal circles. A strong similarity in structure and language between the two compositions would indeed supplement the evidence provided by the appearance of the identical phrase in the annals and LKA 62, and would support Ebeling’s contention that LKA 62 is to be related to Tiglath-pileser I and his war with Muruttaš and Saradauš. But the similarities between LKA 62 and LKA 63, although numerous, are not decisive. The case for identifying the hunter-king with Tiglath-pileser I must therefore be based on the relationship of LKA 62 and the annals. In addition to the one very specific parallel with the annals already mentioned, several expressions are shared by LKA 62 and the hunting accounts in the annals. So we find *dāliḫi būlu šēri* (LKA 62:2) // *mugammer mu^{ur} šēri* (AKA 84 vi 57) and *būlu šēri* (AKA 86 vi 82); *ana qīt napištašunu* (LKA 62:6) // *napištašunu ušiqti* (AKA 85 vi 67); *ina ki-sik (reb!?) šadi šaqūte* (LKA 62:11) // *ina qereb ša ḫuršāni šaqūte* (AKA 90 vii 8). If these considerations suffice to assure the attribution of LKA 62 to Tiglath-pileser I, then we may also claim that the similarities with LKA 63 results from the common origin of the two texts. Since the king’s name is not explicitly mentioned, absolute certainty of the identification is

obviously impossible. Even so, the available evidence seems convincingly to favor Tiglath-pileser I as the subject of LKA 62.

Yet to be explained is the unparalleled adaptation of an animal fable to describe a military campaign. Ebeling explained the fable as the result of a typical folk etymology by which the Kassite name Murattaš was understood by the Akkadian scribe as derived from *mār atāni*. This explanation is not impossible. Just as likely, however, is that the scribe wished to project into the military aspects of the king's career his prowess as a hunter. The king's defense of his realm is depicted in terms of the master hunter stalking his prey. It is Tiglath-pileser I who first introduces the hunting account into the annals, and it is likely that the same originality and enthusiasm for the king's hunting ability influenced the author of LKA 62. Such enthusiasm might not be expected under subsequent kings, when the hunting motif had already become a stereotyped ingredient in the recipe for composing royal inscriptions.

Postscriptum:

The manuscript of our study was completed before the appearance of A. Livingstone, *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea*, SAA 3 (Helsinki, 1989), so that we were unable to avail ourselves of his text editions of works cited here, and of additional relevant material.